1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

pointed out some that did not conform to type they said that those were wrong, but did not attempt any explanation, nor did the discrepancy appear to trouble them at all. One man said they must have got the lines from their fathers.

[171] This belief is found also in Buin, in the extreme south of Bougainville, where it was recorded by Thurnwald (1912, vol. i, p. 536 and Tafel III). He gives drawings of three patterns, one of which, for the Fish-eagle clan (*manugau*), corresponds exactly to the drawing in Fig. 3 for the Naboin (Manu) people.

THE LINEAGE GROUP

The clan is, of course, made up of a number of lineage groups. The separate lineage groups seem to have been, in the olden days, far more self-contained than is the case at present, but even now the lineage functions to some extent as a unit with its own internal organization.

The child whose relations with his fellows we discussed at the beginning of this chapter will be taught from his infancy to regard as the person having most authority over him his mother's eldest brother, whom he calls *tsoanē*, and who calls him *panunē*. But this man is himself under the authority of his own mother's eldest living brother, as long as any survive. The actual head of the lineage, therefore, is its eldest living male. The small child, however, will not at first realize this, since the man in question, his mother's mother's brother, calls him *tsubna'in*, 'grandson', and shows him all the affectionate attention usual in this community between grandparent and grandchild.

The members of a lineage will often be found living together in a hamlet, on ground which they claim as the property of their clan. As a result of the government policy of encouraging the natives to group themselves together in larger villages, for greater ease of supervision, the hamlet, which seems to have been originally the local unit (and, in the mountain districts, still is), is now becoming merged in the village, so that the lineage group no longer dominates the situation as once it did. The older state of things is best illustrated at Saposa, where the people are scattered over a number of tiny islands. Each island was designated as the property of a certain lineage group, in some cases for habitation, in some for growing coco-nuts, in some for purposes of burial. At Lemanmanu, on the Lontis coast (NW. Buka), I was told that in the olden

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

she is preceded by a man carrying a wooden figure (*kaisa*) representing a woman, carved out of soft wood, about three feet high, and realistically painted, no physical features being omitted. A long pole-like handle is carved in one piece with the figure, by means of which the figure is carried on high like a standard. It is set down beside the door of the hut, and after the bride has gone in, it is taken to the *tobar* belonging to the men of the bridegroom's mother's clan, and carefully stored there. This figure, although that of an adult, represents the woman's future child; its purpose is to ensure that she will soon conceive. It is female because it is desirable that her first child shall be a girl. Female children are much desired in this community because, descent being matrilineal, the children of a woman who is *tsunaun* will themselves be *tsunaun* and carry on the line, whatever the position of their father. When once the figure is placed in the *tobar* it may not be taken out again, for if a woman were to see it the child would die. It remains in the *tobar* until the child is fully grown, when it is destroyed. But the hold of this belief is weakening, and on my expressing a desire to purchase one such figure which was shown to me, I was permitted to do so, on condition that I carried it away carefully swathed in wrappings, and did not allow any of the native women to see it, a promise which I took care to keep. It is reproduced in Pl. 8*a*.

There are certain men who know how to carve these figures. Unless the bridegroom's family numbers one of these among its members, they have to pay one string of *beroan* and give a pig to the man who makes it, or they may pay another six strings of *beroan* in lieu of the pig.

The use of these figures is rapidly dying out on the island of Buka and its adjacent islets, owing to discouragement by the missionaries on the ground that they are obscene. On Bougainville, very similar figures are made for use in the *watawutf* ceremony (see Pl. 28), but so far as I could ascertain they are not used in the marriage rites in that region.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS LEADING UP TO MARRIAGE

Occasion	*Transaction*
1. Betrothal, when both are children, the girl often quite a baby.	Father of boy presents spear hung with one string of *beroan* to mother of girl. Betel-mixture chewed.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

presence of this idea. My attention was first drawn to it by watching a man castrate a young European pig he had just purchased from a trader. Knowing that European pigs are greatly prized, I asked him why he did not leave the pig alone so that he could mate it with his sow. (Pigs of mixed origin are counted as European pigs.) His reply was that what he was doing would not interfere with that at all, he would get European pigs from his sow just the same, because he only cut away the testicles (*orn*) and not the penis (*utsin*). To emphasize his point he reminded me that all the young males among the village pigs were castrated, but that the sows continued to produce young. There are plenty of wild pigs in the bush who have free access to the domestic sows, but this explanation was not accepted when I offered it.[1] The belief in the sufficiency of penetration was then stated, and further conversation elicited the fact that it was considered to apply also in the case of human beings.

Given this idea, it is not such a very far cry to the further belief that conception can take place without the co-operation of the male, and there is no doubt that this also is held. The legend, widespread over this area, which traces the origin of all the people from the two sons of an old woman who impregnated herself by means of a banana, is literally believed. It is admitted that this story belongs to times long past, but in a discussion arising out of its narration the opinion was expressed among the audience that it was still possible for a woman to conceive by means of a banana, and the same thing was asserted by an altogether different informant on another occasion, when we were discussing ceremonies and taboos associated with birth. The connexion between bananas and child-bearing appears again in the ceremony for a girl's first menstruation, when the girl climbs a banana palm of a species whose fruit may never be eaten by children, or by boys wearing the *upi* (see p. 254). In discussing certain prohibitions connected with the planting and eating of bananas in the south-eastern Solomons, Ivens suggests that this plant may in the past have possessed a sacred character, and supports his suggestion by citing parallels from other peoples. He need not have gone as far afield

[1] Malinowski records a similar experience (1929, p. 162). The reason given to me, on more than one occasion, for the practice of castrating the domestic pigs, is that it prevents them from becoming wild and running away into the bush, and that if they should do so, it enables the hunters who might catch them in their nets to recognise them as somebody's property and let them go.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

842 824 171 as the Baganda of Africa for an instance of the belief 'that bananas have power to effect fertility in women and of themselves cause pregnancy' (1927, p. 272).

842 824 789 Belief in the possibility of conception without intercourse is explicitly stated in the following 'prescription', which was given to me, with a specimen of the plant named *kɔ̄* (this has not been identified), in the course of an investigation into the uses of plants as 'medicines', entirely apart from any discussion on child-bearing, a circumstance which, in my opinion, increases its value as evidence.

If you have a grudge against a woman for refusing you her favours, take the bud at the top of a sprig of *kɔ̄*, and put it below the door at the [845] *babots* (women's entrance) of her hut. When she has passed over it she will bear twins, even if she does not have intercourse with a man.

842 171 There seems to be sufficient evidence to justify the statement that, on the north coast of Bougainville, belief in the possibility of impregnation without intercourse occurs among a people who are acquainted with physiological paternity. The words used by F. E. Williams in describing a somewhat similar state of affairs among the natives of the Morehead River, Papua, so exactly express my own view, that I cannot refrain from quoting them: 'I think we cannot escape the conclusion that these two theories . . . exist together, and that the second is generally accepted and overlies the first; but that the native, despite the inconsistency of the two theories, can at different times express a sincere belief in each of them' (1933, No. 128).

CONTRACEPTIVES

842 Recognition of physical paternity is clearly implied in the widespread use of 'medicines' to prevent conception. This knowledge is common to both sexes, and the practice is freely discussed. The 'medicines' are employed chiefly to avoid complications in the course of clandestine amours. Their use by married couples is rare, children being much desired. But one man told me that he had given one of them to his wife after the birth of their sixth child, saying that their family was now large enough.

842 824 A number of different plants are used for this purpose. One of the most widely known, judging from the fact that it was given me by three independent informants, from the three villages of Kurtatchi, Tabut, and Baniu, is the fern called in the Kurtatchi dialect *atam* (*Lygodium dichotomum* Sw.). The Petats people call

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

there are two intended for this purpose. One is for use when the breasts are painful because the child has died:

Karamisa (*Acanthaceae*).

Scrape the skin of the root and chew it with the betel-mixture. Spit the mash on to your hand and press it against the woman's breasts. Then scrape the skin off a branch of the same shrub and bury it under the bed on which the woman sleeps.

The other is used to mitigate pain in the breasts at the time of weaning:

Bō (a species of bracken, *Pteris*).

Rub the leaves between the hands, add lime, and massage the breasts.

There is no belief that suckling prevents conception, and this is definitely not the case. Lactation has nothing to do with the period of abstinence from sexual intercourse prescribed after child-birth. The child continues to take the breast long after this has been resumed. Basil Thompson says that with Fijian women, in spite of a prolonged period of suckling, 'menstruation often recommences at the 3rd or 4th month after parturition, and cohabitation, even at this early stage, often results in a second pregnancy' (1908, p. 177). So far as I am aware, the flux is not resumed so early in the women of Bougainville—at any rate some of the women I knew well, whose babies were a year or so old, told me that they had not yet begun to menstruate again since the birth. But the strict taboo enforcing abstinence from sexual intercourse for a period I estimate as at least two years after child-birth (see p. 156) ensures that a second pregnancy shall not follow very quickly.

Suckling is continued for four or five years—judging from the size and condition of some children who were still at the breast. But if another pregnancy occurs, the first child is weaned. A woman will never attempt to suckle both a baby and an elder child, as I have seen done by some American Indian women.

Weaning is, in the normal course of affairs, a gradual process, other food, beginning with taro, which is given from birth, being gradually increased in quantity and variety. The child, according to the statements of the women, makes, of its own account, fewer and fewer demands upon its mother, who accedes to them till they cease. There would seem, accordingly, to be no shock to

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

lime is made from coral, branched coral being preferred.

preparation is the work of the women, and consists of burning the coral with a minimum of slaking. The work is carried on in the recesses of the bush, the place being kept secret and no men permitted to approach it. Large quantities are prepared at a time, at infrequent intervals.

Areca-nut and betel-pepper must be provided in abundance on every ceremonial occasion, and are always given to visitors from other villages to take home with them on their return. Each individual carries his own supply of lime, or begs a dip from his neighbour; it is not provided with the other ingredients. When in his own village the chewer of the betel-mixture will freely fling the skins about on the ground, to be swept up by the women in the course of their cleaning. They are thrown away in any convenient spot, in the case of villages on the cliff top generally over the cliff, or they may be burnt. There does not appear to be any special place for disposing of them, as is described by Ivens (1927, p. 287) for the SE. Solomons. But when on a visit to another village, particularly to one in the mountains, where there is always a feeling that the people are not to be trusted, the skins are carefully put into the little basket which everybody carries, and brought away, lest an enemy should use them for making 'bad medicine'.

Branches of areca-nuts are carried by the messengers sent out by the *tunuan* to summon people to a ceremony. (Cf. Ivens, 1927, p. 288.)

The natives say that chewing the betel-mixture 'makes them feel strong'. I can testify that when they have plenty to chew they are livelier and more inclined to talk. It is known to them that people who chew too much of it are apt to fall into a slightly dazed and stupid condition, and there are a very few who do not like the effect it has upon them and therefore avoid it. The majority, however, obviously feel lost without it, like an inveterate smoker left without tobacco.

STORIES OF THE ORIGIN OF VARIOUS FOODSTUFFS

Among my collection of stories there is a large number explaining how the people came to be possessed of, or to learn to use, certain of their foodstuffs. Many of these turn on the activities of the famous 'two brothers', and are connected with a widespread series extending over a large part of the Pacific (see references in my paper on Folk-tales, 1932, p. 74). As the stories are in most cases

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

the point, and the string is twisted round these also, for greater security.

The point is made of turtle-shell, generally of the 'green-back' variety, which is not scarce. I do not remember ever having seen a point made of anything else. The variety of shapes and curves can best be seen from the photographs of specimens I collected, but it is not apparent from the photograph (Pl. 42) that there is a series of grooves, three as a rule, on the back of the point near its place of attachment to the shank, round which the lashing is twisted. The hook has no barb. It is pointed out by Hiroa (1930, p. 508) that 'where every second is of importance . . . a barbed hook would be a drawback and not an advantage'.

The hooks vary considerably in size. Plate 42 shows a number of them photographed with a scale. When I asked what was the reason for these differences in size and material, my informants replied that some fishermen liked one kind, some another. No mention was made of choosing hooks of a colour suitable to weather and water conditions, as reported by Hiroa (1930, p. 498) for the Samoans, or that one kind was used in the bow and one in the stern as reported by Ivens for the SE. Solomons (Ivens, 1927, p. 134), so I am able to offer only negative evidence on these points.

One hook from Petats (the middle one on the left in Pl. 42) has a short string of trade beads, probably in place of shell disks, attached to the fastening of the point on either side. The man who brought it said these were to make it catch many fish. He was about to tell me more when another man came up, so he hastily said they were just put on for ornament. But later he came back and told me that when putting the beads on he spat on the hook and said (Petats dialect):

'Lū hitaun, lū hitaun, hokauat, lū ien.'
'Catch quickly, catch quickly, catch fish.'

He could not explain the word *hokauat*, and as he asked me not to tell anybody in the village what the words were, I could not inquire further about it.

The rod is made of bamboo, about 2 inches in diameter at the proximal end, tapering towards the distal end. The length seems to be a matter of individual taste, about 12 feet would be a fair average. The line is the usual fish-line of fibre, and is about the same length as the rod.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

derivatives. They are not so highly valued, and less care is taken to keep them from the sight of women. They are used in the same way as the stone fish. One which I procured at Tabut (Pl. 42) had been set up in the shed in which the canoes were kept, with a hook attached to the mid-rib of a coco-nut leaf placed in its mouth. This was to make the bonito angry so that they would take the hook.

There is no mention of model fish in connexion with bonito fishing in the account given by Ivens for the SE. Solomons nor in that for Samoa by Te Rangi Hiroa. Their use in albacore fishing in the Society Islands is described by Nordloff (1930, p. 159), who says there were formerly models for almost every kind of fish. As in Bougainville, the head of the model must be kept turned towards the land to bring the fish close inshore.

In view of the fact, previously mentioned, that the fountain-head of the bonito magic was held to be the island of Pororan, I asked Mr. Gordon Thomas to investigate the matter there. He succeeded, with considerable trouble, in obtaining the following account, which he kindly gave me permission to incorporate here:

Atūn Magic. An account of the procedure adopted by the Pororan natives in order to bring the *atūn* fish into their fishing grounds. By E. L. Gordon Thomas.

The *atūn* (commonly called amongst the white population the 'king-fish') travels in shoals and frequents deep water. Its presence is invariably known by the large flocks of sea-birds hovering over the shoals in search of food. It is a fish that is highly prized amongst the Buka natives for eating purposes. It has no other value.

The magic employed is worked by one or two men who have been initiated into the mysteries by older relations, usually a cousin or a brother. There is a magic stone and a magic mixture of herbs and paint, which is used by the workers.

Timas, of Novar (Buka Passage), is the first one of whom I can find any record of having used this magic. The Pororan natives assert that he was the first man to use it. His time would be about sixty to seventy years ago, so far as I can ascertain. From him Pineri, of Pororan, became possessed of the secret, and he, in turn, passed it on to Nahu, who gave the secret to Sowi. It was from Sowi that I obtained the information here given. Sowi is a man of advanced years, somewhere in the vicinity of fifty years of age. He

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

226 824 *Riro* (*Morinda citrifolia*).

Get some leaves; split them away from the mid-rib. Add a little *sisina*, and rub it on your hand. Then chew the root with betel-mixture, spit it on to your hand which holds the other mixture, and rub both on line.

4. *Fishing kite.*

226 133 While the three former methods are practised either inside or outside the reef, kite-fishing is generally confined to the smooth water between the reef and the shore, or in otherwise sheltered water. The term 'lagoon' is current locally to indicate any such stretch of sheltered water, not necessarily so fully enclosed as in the case of the lagoons of atolls, which are rarely found in this area. It is applied, for example, to the stretch of sea between the west coast of Buka and its fringing reef, from which rises the string of islands including Petats and Pororan, though the protecting reef is open at both ends and has gaps in it. In fair weather, this stretch of water is very suitable for kite-fishing, and it was there that I saw it being carried on. The people of the north coast of Bougainville are also acquainted with the fishing kite, but they use it less frequently, as in order to do so they have to go across the peninsula to the relatively sheltered water of Soraken bay, the open sea off their own villages being unsuitable.

226 ● 171 *Distribution.* Kite-fishing is remarkable not only for its ingenuity, but also for its geographical distribution. This is discussed in a paper by H. Balfour (1913, p. 583), who traces it from a probable centre of dispersion 'somewhere in the eastern area of the Malayan Archipelago', as one of a series of cultural objects whose distribution can be followed over an area stretching from Singapore to Santa Cruz.

227 [824] *Construction.* The kite (*vavatoa*, P.) is made of five fronds of the sago-palm leaf, of which the two outer ones have the leaf stripped from one side of the mid-rib which thus acts as a stiff outside edge. The central leaf is turned back from its mid-rib for about a third of its length, which projects to form a tail to which is attached the string trailing the lure, towards the tip, and the string held by the fisherman, at the end of the split-off portion. This string is again fastened lower down the mid-rib, by means of a loose loop. The doubled leaf forms the central part of the body of the kite; two others, with the mid-rib stripped off, are stitched to either side of it,

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

off the branch into the water and deftly push the bottom of the *ēvu* together with their feet, enclosing the fish.

I did not see anything resembling the *ēvu* in the Bougainville villages, but they have very little shore accessible to them on which they could use such an appliance.

9. *Thorn-lined trap.*

There is also in use in these islands a fish-trap made of the leaf-stems of a thorny vine of the Calamus species, fastened, roughly in the shape of an elongated cone, on to a piece of wood pointed at the other end, by means of which it is fixed in position (Pl. 43). The cone is strengthened with two circles of cane. The thorns are set point inwards, to prevent the fish from getting out. I have not seen this method practised, but a specimen of the trap was procured for me by Mr. Gordon Thomas on the island of Pororan. I am indebted to Mr. Thomas also for the following particulars concerning it. The trap is called *lamlam* in the Pororan dialect (which is very similar to that used on Petats). The thorny vine of which it is constructed is called *kakūl*. The trap is baited with ureta (*la'ut*). The pointed end of the stick is set in the sand at diving depth or wedged between rocks at an acute angle, with the bait at the apex of the cone, and the top part of the trap is covered with certain kinds of leaves (*karian*) leaving nothing but the mouth showing. It is used exclusively by men. The fish usually caught by it are a red fish (*taulō*) and a spotted rock-fish (*sinai*). It 'belongs to the olden days' and is not much used now.

Distribution. It has been pointed out by H. Balfour that the thorn-lined fish-trap occurs in the same areas as the fishing kite (*Man*, 1925, No. 21, and 1932, No. 77), and that 'owing to its almost completely linked-up distribution, it affords one of the most convincing chains of concrete evidence helping to prove an affinity between the culture of the Naga Hills at one end of the range, and Melanesian culture at the other end' (1925, p. 37).

10. *Stunning and Poisoning.*

The natives use a preparation for stunning fish, made from the plant called *tʃū*, a climbing plant growing up the trunks of trees, to which it attaches itself by means of suckers. To prepare it, the root of the plant must be taken from underground; the suckers attached to the trunk of the tree will not do. These roots are pounded into pulp with a stone. A handful of the pulp is taken

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

by the fisherman, who dives down and pushes it into holes in the rocks. He then goes back to his canoe. In a short time there is an 'explosion' which stuns the fish; the small ones come to the surface, the large ones are dived for. I am not clear as to the exact nature of this 'explosion'. My informants said it was 'just like dynamite', with which some of them are familiar as it is used for killing fish by the planters, though there are government restrictions on its use by natives owing to the liability to accidents. I have not seen this plant used, but it seems clear from the description given that the fish are actually stunned or killed by the explosion, and not poisoned. Williams (1930, p. 58) reports among the Orokaiva the use of the vine *Anisi*, a species of derris, which goes by the name of 'New Guinea dynamite'. Unfortunately, the specimen of *tsū* which I brought home was not adequate for identification, so I cannot say whether it is the same plant. Williams describes its action as poisoning. 'The root of the Anisi is pounded on a log. It exudes a highly poisonous milky fluid which permeates the water, and brings the fish stupefied to the surface.'

The actual poisoning of fish is also known to these people. They use the fruit of *wapatsun* (a large tree which grows on the shore) by pulping it on a stone and throwing it into the water. This does not explode, but poisons the fish, which then rise to the surface and are picked up.

The poisoning of fish is a very widespread practice among primitive peoples. Ivens describes a method of poisoning employed in the SE. Solomons involving a preparation of the bark of the Barringtonia tree 'heated in the fire to bring out its bitter qualities' (1927, p. 389). The kernel of the fruit of a species of Barringtonia is used for poisoning pools by the Samoans (Hiroa, 1930, p. 443), and the outer portion of the fruit of the same tree by the Fijians 'for stupefying fish for the purpose of catching them' (Maiden, 1889, p. 160, quoted from Seemann, *Flora Vitensis*). The plant called *wapatsun*, mentioned above, is not the ordinary Barringtonia, the kernels of which are eaten. This is called *karu* and is used for various medicinal purposes, but not, so far as I know, for catching fish. It may, however, be another species of Barringtonia.

11. *Drives.*

Under appropriate conditions, in places where there is a muddy shore, such as that in a bay near Novar, on the western end of Buka

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

it is collected from the reef. This seaweed (*mŏ*) is a calcareous alga which Dr. Haddon tells me is used for the same purpose from Matty Islands to Santa Cruz. A zigzag pattern (*bĕn*) may be painted in red along each side at the upper or lower margin, or both.

No ceremonies accompany the launching of a dug-out canoe.

TERMS USED IN CONNEXION WITH DUG-OUT CANOE[1]

Meaning of Term.	*Petats.*	*Kurtatchi.*
Dug-out canoe with outrigger	*dzini*	*tsindo*
Tree of which it is generally made	*uĕrtsil*	*tsindo*
Keel	*kubin*	
Rim	*pdmakun*	
Sides	*rĕkin*	
Generic term for either end (same word as for 'nose')	*firil*	*pipirus*
Bow	*mila*	*matŏm*
Stern	*tuo*	*hdpits*
Hook on either end (same word as for 'hornbill')	*pdpo*	*tsitsio*
Slope of outline from keel to hook	*ldrrut*	
Outrigger booms and poles forming platform	*kihilin* (*kihilil*)	*wundr*
Sticks (3) inside canoe, to which the outrigger booms are fastened	*sihun*	*tapdr*
Cross-bars bracing platform	*pinin*	*pbril*
Stick attachment joining float to booms	*ki*	*ke*
Binding fixing booms to canoe	*pilpil*	*lus*
Creeper of which this is made (*Lygodium dichotomum Sw.*)	*ulaun*	*daun*
Outrigger float	*kdtal* or *kalas*	*ag* or *wags*
Paddle	*kur*	*anur*

Size. Three grades are distinguished by name, the actual measurements varying slightly within each class: *dzini kakarik*, a small canoe suitable for two people but manageable by one paddler alone; *dzini kakal*, medium size, can be paddled by two, but will take a passenger or a third paddler if required; *dzini dzin*, a large canoe for four or more people; these are unusual as they are rather clumsy to manage.

My own table of measurements was unfortunately lost, but the following, kindly taken by Mr. Gordon Thomas on the island of Pororan, may be regarded as typical of the whole area.

[1] Some of the Petats terms have been previously recorded by Friederici (1912, p. 295).

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

rims. It does not seem to occur to them that it would be more comfortable to put a board across to sit on. The smaller canoes are so narrow that the feet must be placed one in front of the other in the bottom because there is no room for them side by side. If there is only one paddler he sits near the stern, if a second, he occupies the bow; any others will distribute themselves in between. The shape of the paddle can be seen from the photograph (Pl. 49). It is frequently ornamented with a design either incised or cut in very low relief, picked out with paint. If there is no design, the whole paddle is often painted white by rubbing with the seaweed *mō*. In use, the ornamented side is directed towards the paddler. One hand is placed over the top, the other grasping the handle near the blade, as in paddling a Canadian canoe. The stroke is rather short, and a good deal quicker than that used by Canadian Indians, probably because these canoes are used on the sea. The paddle is lifted right out of the water at each stroke. The steering differs slightly from that of a Canadian canoe, owing to the outrigger.

Cargo is piled up on the platform over the hull of the canoe, which is the driest place in the boat. Anything laid in the bottom is certain to get wet, as a good deal of water is shipped even in a smooth sea. Baling is done with half a coco-nut shell (why do they always seem to bring the half with the eyehole in it?), or, nowadays, often with an old tin can. I once saw a wooden baler being used near Soraken, but I did not come across any of these in the villages with which I was acquainted. In rough water a considerable amount of skill is required to avoid swamping. Even if filled with water or overturned, the canoe is prevented from sinking by the outrigger, and if hard put to it, the occupants will jump overboard and swim, pushing the canoe along with them.

Sails are sometimes seen, but they are not of native workmanship, and their use and technique has been learned from white men. A favourite device when running before the wind is to hold up one of the large leaves of the coco-nut or the sago palm, which acts as a very efficient sail, if there is just the right amount of wind. I have never seen canoes sailed close to the wind.

The Plank Canoe.

The most elaborate of all the articles manufactured in this area is the plank canoe, called, as in all other parts of Melanesia where

this form of craft is known, MDN.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

XI

AESTHETIC ARTS

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Slit-gong (*tui* (P.), *garamuts* (K.)).

534 [202 171] THE slit-gong is the most important of the sound-producing instruments known to these people. It serves not only for dances, but also for conveying information. It is used over the whole of Buka and Bougainville. Those made in the southern parts of Bougainville differ from those made in the north in not having lugs on the ends.

534 773 539 *Origin.* There is a story explaining the origin of the slit-gong and of the rules for its use which runs thus:

There is a bird whose name is *gugurio*. He taught all the people of Sollos how to make the *garamuts*. There is a big tree that has a hole inside, it is called *toras*, the wind blows inside it, the leaves beat against the edge of the hole, it makes a noise just like a *garamuts*. Gugurio told the people to cut down the tree and make a *garamuts* of it. They made it in the bush, they lifted it up and wanted to carry it to the village. They came along carrying it. Gugurio sat on the top of the *garamuts* as the men carried it. He fell down off the *garamuts*, and it hurt his foot, it broke his leg. Now he walks about on one leg.

Gugurio went with all the people to the village. He said to them: 'You people lift up the *garamuts* and put it in front of a certain house. Don't put it in front of just any house, the *garamuts* is the sign of a *tsunaun*, you must put it in front of the house of a *tsunaun*.' All the people heard what he said. 'You people, the *garamuts* must not sound for nothing. When you have plenty of pig and plenty of taro, plenty of food in front of the big house, then you can beat it, it must not sound all the time for no reason.' So they do. When it is time for a dance, or for a big feast, then it sounds. When the people of another village hear it, they know that this village has plenty of food. Then they are cross, and say: 'When will our *garamuts* sound? We have no food, let us go and work in the taro garden.'

That is why the *garamuts* stands in front of the house of a *tsunaun*, it cannot stand at the house of a commoner.

600 *Manufacture.* Slit-gongs are made of hard wood. The name of

[p. 406]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

Conch-shell (*tsuvig*).

The shell in general use is the triton shell. The sound hole is at the side (Pl. 65, 5). They are of various sizes, quite small ones being used by little boys. Women do not sound them. To sound the conch is *piu o tsuvig*.

The *tsuvig* is sounded on ceremonial occasions, especially those involving a journey of importance, such as that to bring home the long poles for the special *tobar* (boys' house) to be built for the *watawutf* ceremony, or on the way to one of these ceremonies. The performer jumps about and assumes a fierce expression, while blowing as loud a blast as he can upon the shell.

The musical bow (*hoyhoyo*).

The musical bow consists of a flat strip of cane strung like a bow (Pl. 65, 7). It is played by holding one end between the teeth, with the string towards the face, so that the mouth acts as a resonator, while the string is plucked with the fingers towards the other end of the bow. It is used by women only, and solely for amusement, never for ceremonial purposes or at dances.

The musical bow as here used is the simplest form of an instrument which is found, with various modifications, in various parts of the Pacific area, in India and Africa, and also in Central and South America. Its distribution has been traced and discussed by H. Balfour (1899), who considers that there is close relationship throughout the Malayo-Melanesio-Polynesian series, and brings forward evidence in favour of a common origin for the forms found in India and Africa without regarding the question as settled.

The jews' harp (*pokpoko*).

The jews' harp is made of bamboo, with a straight tongue. Its shape is best seen from the photograph (Pl. 65, 6). It is played, also for amusement only, by the men.

The story goes that the rights of the sexes in these two instruments were originally reversed.

Story of origin of pokpoko

There were two people of Toioh (an island off the north-west corner of Bougainville), a man and a woman, they were going to be married, but they were not married yet. The man lived in the men's house, the woman in her own hut. At that time the *hoyhoyo*, that is like a bow, belonged to the men, the women did not play it.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

The reason given for this practice is that if it is not done too much blood stays in the body and the child will not grow big.[1] On the girls, it is supposed to 'make their milk come up'. It is also liked by the men. 'They say: "That is a fine woman, she has good marks on her body".' Tapɛ̄ (Pl. 69*b*) was mentioned —by a man—as one of the most beautiful girls in the village. She is a commoner and the pattern on her body can be used by any one.

Besides the distinction between *tsunaun* and commoners there are also differences due to locality. The patterns in the list here given are used by the people of the north coast of Bougainville, as far as, and including, the island of Tiop at the extreme north-eastern corner, which also in other respects belongs to the same group. The Hahon people (inhabitants of the mountain district behind the northern coast-line) make a mark shaped thus ϛϛ in the centre of each cheek. The body is left unmarked except for a small ring on either buttock. The Kunua people have a line on each cheek, curving from the edge of the nostril up to the outer canthus, some ending in a circle on the upper portion of the cheek, just in front of the zygomatic arch. A child I saw, who looked no more than about eighteen months old, already had these marks. The coast people told me that the Kunua people put them on much earlier than they themselves did.

The following list gives the principal patterns in general use. It is worthy of note that the one called *lalōm* (Pl. 70*b*), used on the back of the neck of persons who are *tsunaun*, is almost identical with that placed on the foreheads of the Araha (chiefly) clan among the people of San Cristoval (Fox, 1924, p. 16).

NAMES OF PATTERNS CUT ON SKIN

pipi, general term for cicatrization.

gun, marks cut on the face. These usually follow the features to some extent, somewhat like the Maori tattooing, but much less elaborate.

lalōm, pattern on back of neck of person of rank (m. or f.) (see Pl. 70*b*).

lalōm

wabuin

[1] As far as I could learn, the presence or absence of these marks had no connexion with the fate of the individual after death, as reported for the SE. Solomons by Ivens (1927, p. 18*a*).

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

437 438 showing the ramifications of the system. The people of Petats obtained some pots at Malasang in exchange for women's hoods. The pots they bartered to the people of Lontis in exchange for taro. The Lontis people used the pots to pay for pigs, which they intended to sell, as opportunity offered, for ceremonial currency made of shell disks (*beroam*), which was destined eventually to form part of the property changing hands in respect of a marriage.

435 439 465 651 Purchases from white men or Chinese store-keepers are usually paid for in copra, the rates varying with the current market-price of that commodity. A certain fixed part of the wages of indentured labourers is paid in shillings, some of which also find their way into the store-keepers' tills, though the main use of them is to pay the Government head-tax of 10*s.* on each adult male. The goods generally bought are sticks of tobacco, knives and axes, loin-cloths, trade beads, belts, and sometimes, if a man has recently returned from labour and money is plentiful, mouth-organs and bottles of scent.

435 439 Pigs are sometimes purchased locally from white planters or Chinese store-keepers. One of the latter, who had a store on the mainland of Buka nearly opposite Petats, used to make the natives pay as much as £10 or £12 in English (or Australian) money for a large fat pig, when he knew that it was specially wanted for some great occasion.

436 Sticks of tobacco (plug twist) and, to a smaller extent, shillings are now coming into favour as a means of trading among the natives themselves, 3 sticks of tobacco being recognized as the equivalent of a shilling, or goods to that value. They also recognize as a unit the sum of £5, which they call, using pidgin-English, a *fius*. This word is sometimes rather arbitrarily used when it is required to indicate a large sum, e.g. it may be quoted as the price of a pig.

CEREMONIAL CURRENCY

Two kinds of ceremonial currency are in use, one much more highly valued than the other.

436 171 The less valuable kind consists of strings of shell disks ground flat and pierced with a central hole. This type of currency is found over a large area of Melanesia. Although it is made in other islands of the Solomon group (Codrington, 1891, p. 325, Ivens, 1927,

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

p. 390), that in use on Buka and Bougainville is, according to all my informants, obtained from New Britain and New Ireland, and especially from Manus in the Admiralty Islands. They made no mention of any from elsewhere, except that I was told that there was one man living on a small island off the west coast of Buka who knew how to make it. I was not able to verify this. It is called *beroan*, the same term being employed in all dialects with which I have any acquaintance. Three varieties are seen. The most common are either white or purplish (see Pl. 67, 2*a*, 2*b*). A third consists of rather larger disks of a brownish colour, and is distinguished from the other two by name, *kulin*, in the Petats dialect. The disks are strung on native fibre string, small black rings of some vegetable substance being sometimes incorporated in the string at irregular intervals. So far as I could ascertain, this is done merely for the sake of its appearance, and not to mark lengths or values. The unit of length is the fathom (about 6 feet). A single string is considered to be the equivalent of 5*s*. The Bougainville natives say that they did not fix this value themselves, but took it over from the people of New Britain and Manus with the strings themselves. I found it quite impossible to elicit any information as to how long the use of this shell currency had been known in Bougainville, or how it first came to be associated with a value in terms of shillings.

Beroan is not used in the ordinary exchanges which have been described in the foregoing pages, but is given in payment for certain things only. It is also used for personal ornament, being worn round the waist or slung across the shoulders of adults or children for ceremonial dances and on other special occasions. Larger shells with dogs' teeth inside are sometimes attached to short strings of *beroan* which are then used as rattles, either to amuse infants or as an accompaniment to a dance.

Some uses of *beroan* (other than for personal adornment) which came under my notice are listed below:

1. Several fathoms change hands in the course of the transactions connected with marriage.
2. As compensation for theft, in return for release of culprits.
3. As part payment for pigs.
4. As payment for carving *kaiva* figure.
5. As payment for being taught certain kinds of magic.
6. Thrown into coffin of *maris* as sign of grief.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

436 The other variety of ceremonial currency is called *paio* in the Petats dialect and *imun* in the Kurtatchi dialect. It is apparently of more ancient usage then *beroan*, and of local origin. Some of the older men know how to make it, but do not often add to the existing quantity in circulation; whether this is due to the trouble involved in the manufacture, or to some ritual restriction, I am unable to say. I did not come across any one who possessed this skill.

Imun consists of a string of teeth, either of porpoise (or dolphin) or of flying fox (*Terapus*) but never both in the same string, set into a kind of rope of twisted fibre so that their pointed ends jut out (Pl. 67, *1a*, *1b*). Dogs' teeth, which are reported from Florida and Ysabel (Codrington, 1891, p. 325), are not used in this area. The strings are covered with *oin*, and when not in use are kept in a receptacle—a pot or a coco-nut shell—filled with this red powder.

[171]

The unit of length is the same as for *beroan*. One fathom (*pe'es a yau*) of *imun* made of flying-fox teeth measured 5 ft. 11 in.; the teeth started 11½ in. from one end and 9 in. from the other. A fathom of porpoise teeth *imun* measured 6 ft. 5 in.; the teeth started 15 in. from one end and 13½ in. from the other, the rest of the length at both extremities being merely string. These were considered rather short strings; the teeth in them were small. In both strings the teeth were set 5 to the inch.

[435] A fathom is now arbitrarily valued by the natives at one *fius* (£5 of our money). But in point of fact the question does not often arise, because the Government has forbidden both *imun* and *beroan* to be used in any transaction involving white people, owing to the trouble arising over its valuation. Between natives, it is used only for important transactions, such as making the ceremonial payments in respect of marriage, and for buying pigs. Some strings are given names and are much treasured by their owners, who keep [765] them to hand on to their heirs. To some of these relics are attached, such as portions of the person of an ancestor or of an enemy who [565] has been eaten (see p. 192). The *tsunaun* is always supposed to possess a large number of strings, but he keeps carefully secret the actual number he owns, taking out a portion of his stock for exchange or for ceremonial exhibition when required. *Imun* is never [301] used purely for personal adornment, but a string may be hung on the person ceremonially on certain rare occasions.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

she must buy it, paying in any commodity that happens to be available. But when a big feast, such as the *watawutf*, is held, each must contribute to the common stock for the entertainment of the vast crowds of visitors who will arrive for the occasion.

Portions of land are allotted by the *tsunaun* to any one who wishes to plant coco-nut palms.[1] These trees are then his personal property, and no one would take nuts from them without his consent, except such near relatives as children, or brothers and sisters, both blood and classificatory. However thirsty a man may be while on a journey, he would not think of climbing a coco-nut palm to shake down nuts, unless he came to a grove to whose owner he stood in such relationship.

Ownership is also recognized in certain trees, such as those used for making dug-out canoes, or those valued for their fruit, such as the canarium almond. It may be established by planting the tree, or inherited from a relative who planted. These trees will be on land which, though vested in the *tsunaun*, and said to 'belong to' him, is used by the whole group, as explained in a previous paragraph, so that the ownership of trees is differentiated from the ownership of the land they stand on. To a great extent it is true here, as is described by Thurnwald at Buin (1912, p. 34), that property is connected chiefly with the results of work.

Pigs.

Pigs rank as property next in importance to strings of *imun* and above *beroan*. They are entirely personal possessions, and may be owned by anybody, man, woman, or child. A man with no pigs is regarded as poor, but there is nothing to prevent him from gaining prestige in the village by other means. Sobak, one of the prominent rain-makers of Kurtatchi, had no pigs, and though this was sometimes the subject of rather jeering comment, it did not prevent him from receiving a certain amount of deference in view of his skill at rain-making. But a man without pigs is debarred from certain privileges. For example, only a man who can produce ten pigs may build a *tobar* (boys' house), and those wishing to make use of this *tobar* pay a pig to the owner, except the boys wearing the *upi*, who are exempt.

Each person knows his own pigs individually, treats them as

[1] The Government has now instituted a rule that every man must plant ten coco-nut palms for each of his children at birth.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

is this *urar*?' 'I don't know where he is.' 'All right, by and by we will all go and paddle.' Another day some of the other people saw the *urar*, they saw him turn into a shark and into a *kitat5*; then they knew that what the man had told them was true.

My attention was first drawn to these transformations of *urar* into animals in connexion with discussions on death, and it is quite clear that this power is ascribed to the ghosts of people who have died and become *urar*. But while listening to tales dealing with similar transformations in the course of an evening's story-telling, I noticed that some of these beings did not seem to be regarded with quite the same intensity of fear and dread that was associated with the ghosts of the dead, although the same word, *urar*, was used. Furthermore, in translating these stories into pidgin-English, the word *maselai* was used in some cases, whereas the pidgin-English term for the ghost of a dead person is *tamboran*. When I inquired into this distinction, my informants were very vague in their replies, insisting that both were *urar*. Then my servant, who was present at the discussion, told me that in the Petats dialect they used different words, *amat* for the spirit of a person who had died, which he gave as the equivalent to the pidgin-English *tamboran*, and *halelehan* for the other spirits who were called in pidgin-English *maselai*. It would seem, therefore, as if there really were two kinds of spirits, one kind consisting of the ghosts of dead persons, and the other of spirits who had never been men, though the distinction is somewhat blurred in the use of the same word for both kinds in the Kurtatchi dialect. Perhaps the natives are not very clear about it themselves, for whenever I asked them to explain what they meant by *urar* I was always told that it was a person who had died a long time ago. Since returning home, I have discovered that the same dual meaning is attached to the word *adaro* at San Cristoval and to the word *ahalo* at Ulawa and Mala (Fox, 1924, p. 107), which corroborates the evidence given above.

Among the spirits which are called *urar* but should perhaps (though I am not certain as to this) not be considered as the ghosts of persons who have died, there are apparently included certain *urar* who, in the form of animals, are associated with individual men or women in a manner rather difficult to define, but constituting a bond which is clearly recognized. Such an individual claims that the *urar*-creature is 'my kinsman' (*boami*), that it will come at his call, and at his bidding will assist him, or his friends,

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

324 764 natives that the stones had been put up in times long past as memorials to dead chiefs. No mention of anything of this sort was made to me in the course of extensive inquiries, and I have no means of estimating the reliability of the report thus passed on to me at second-hand. It may, however, be noted in this connexion that [171] Fox (1924, p. 288) reports that on some of the burial mounds of San Cristoval there are stone pillars 2 or 3 feet high, the use of which is quite unknown. One, over 10 feet high, and about 6 inches in diameter, is described as 'evidently worked'. At one mound there are two stone pillars, one of which appears from the diagram given by Fox to be similar in shape to those on Buka. This stone was set up whenever a woman was buried in the mound; the other, of a different shape, was set up at the burials of men.

While not rejecting altogether the hypothesis that the stone pillars of Buka and North Bougainville may be memorials to the dead, one may perhaps be permitted to speculate a little as to other possibilities in regard to their origin and purpose.

324 531 304 It will be remembered that both the Petats and the Kurtatchi people, without previous knowledge of the patterns on the stones, associated these with the designs which they cut on their skin. While visiting Timputs I was told, in quite another connexion, of a stone called Mukikimits, near Kowanis, on the north-east corner of Bougainville, which is said to have marks on it like those cut on the skin, and also the imprint of a man's foot. The ceremony for the cicatrization of children is held at this stone. An unfortunate accident prevented me from visiting it, so I do not know whether it is another of the stone pillars or a natural formation. But the mention of the marks upon it seems to indicate human handiwork. The question now arises, whether the similarity between the designs on the stones and those made on the skin by means of cicatrices indicates that both may at one time have formed part of the same ritual complex.

304 856 832 The reasons given to me for the practice of cicatrization were (i) that it helped the children to grow, (ii) that it was considered beautiful and attractive to persons of the opposite sex, (iii) that it 'made the milk come up' in young women.

324 778 The next link in my argument is provided by the ritual connected with the stones at Tiop. There are several points of resemblance between this and the ceremonies attached to the stone called Mubenoits. Both stones have 'children'. In both a pig is

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

killed. In both the stone is washed, the one at Tiop with blood, Mubenoits with the water in which the pig has been cooked. In both paint is put on the stone, and food brought to it. But Mubenoits does not appear to be associated with the cicatrization of children, and the ceremonies held in connexion with it seem, as far as I could gather, to have been inaugurated some little time after what I take to have been its rediscovery in the bush, apparently about a generation ago. Whatever significance the stone now called Mubenoits may originally have possessed was clearly not known to its present owners, who adopted it as important on account of its peculiar appearance, which is in striking contrast to the shapeless chunks of rough honeycombed dolomitic limestone forming the cliffs near by. It seems clear that the Mubenoits ritual is not a survival, but a newly instituted affair. There is a certain amount of intercourse between Kurtatchi and Tiop, so the possibility of borrowing cannot be entirely ruled out. However this may be, there is perhaps some ground on which to base an hypothesis that the stone pillars and the slab-shaped structures at Tiop belong to one and the same series of monuments.

Without laying too much stress on the parallel, it is perhaps worthy of note that stone structures comparable with both of these occur in another area which, though distant, is known to have cultural affinities with Melanesia—the Naga Hills in Assam. There is, at Dimapur in the Naga Hills, a series of ancient monoliths, some of which carry carved patterns bearing a very remarkable resemblance to those on the pillar at Iltopan called 'A Pi'.[1] These appear to have been set up as memorials of feasts, a practice which is still in vogue among the Nagas, as an adjunct to sacrificial ceremonies 'which can only be performed when the giver of the feast enjoys exceptional prosperity', so that the posts now erected 'are associated, even if indirectly, with the fertility of crops and cattle' (Hutton, 1922 (i), p. 57). There is reason to believe that the ancient monuments also possessed a phallic significance, and that they were connected with sacrifices, probably human. I have no evidence that the stone pillars of Buka are regarded as phallic symbols at the present day, but from their appearance it would seem not unlikely that they may originally have been so intended.

[1] These are figured in a paper by J. H. Hutton (1922 (i), Pl. 1). I am indebted to Mr. E. S. Thomas, of the Pitt-Rivers Museum, for drawing my attention to the similarity in design.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

The Nagas also erect paired monuments in which one slab of stone represents the male and the other the female (Hutton, 1922 (ii), p. 243 and Pl. XVI) to which the stones at Tiop (which are also male and female) would be closely comparable in appearance, supposing the now prostrate stone originally to have stood upright. One of the reasons the Nagas give for so doing is 'that anything else is abhorrent to nature'.

It will be remembered that children are brought to the Tiop stones by their mothers at birth, and again for cicatrization; that the patterns on the two incised stones of Buka are the same as those produced by this operation on the skin; and that cicatrization is said to 'make the milk come up' in young women, and to render each sex more attractive to the other. These considerations lead me to put forward, very tentatively, an hypothesis that the stones at Tiop and the pillars of Buka and Bougainville may perhaps once have formed part of an elaborate fertility ritual, most of which has now been lost.

The existence of the stones at Tiop, and the ritual connected with them, came to my notice only at the very end of my period of residence, when I was unable for lack of time to investigate the question more fully. Further researches in this area might bring to light other pillars and more information if it is not already gone beyond recall.

BUSH GOBLINS

To complete, so far as my material permits, the account of the beliefs held by these people in regard to ghosts and spirits, reference must be made to a group of beings which must be regarded as in a completely different category from those hitherto described. They are never called *urar* or connected in any way with persons who have died. They are not regarded with the terror inspired by the *urar*, but with a mixture of rather shamefaced fear and half-affectionate amusement apparently somewhat of the nature of the feelings of country people in bygone days towards fairies, or perhaps, since they are generally more or less mischievous, they are better compared to goblins. They live in the bush, but are not associated with special portions of it as the *urar* in their various transformations are thought to be. Their doings and adventures, particularly those into which human beings enter, provide material for endless numbers of stories, which are always much enjoyed by

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

individual of the male sex, there seem to be a number of Pinari both male and female, as although one usually appears as the protagonist in any given story, they sometimes act in groups. The stories collected in both districts are in some instances identical. But sometimes incidents in which Tukis figures according to one version, will be reported of Pinari in another, so that there seems to be a process of pooling going on as regards their adventures. But the difference in their physical characteristics, and the fact that in some stories both Pinari and Tukis appear together, sometimes as confederates, sometimes as antagonists, indicates that they are regarded as distinct.

There is a very large number of stories relating to these goblins in my collection. Most of them tell how Tukis or Pinari succeed in getting the better of some human, usually by a trick, or, conversely, how some human got his own back on the goblin. Occasionally a Tukis is represented as helping a man to capture or to escape from a Pinari. Both Tukis and Pinari delight in persuading some too trusting human to come to their holes, where the unsuspecting guest is trapped and eaten as a relish to taro, unless he is able to outwit the goblin and make his escape. In other stories it is the goblin who is caught and eaten. Both Tukis and Pinari can appear in the shape of any given individual. Sometimes they impersonate a man's wife, sometimes a woman's husband, or her baby. In either case the result is usually the death of the person who is deceived by the resemblance, and very often also of the goblin, who is killed by the victim's husband or relatives in revenge. A man or woman who has sexual intercourse with a Pinari will die. They present themselves to people who are in the bush alone, and also to groups of children, out opossum hunting or fishing or gathering nuts; they begin a conversation by asking for food, and various adventures then ensue. If they find any food left unguarded, they steal it. They are not represented as taking the shapes of animals or appearing in any other form except their own or that of some human being.

I cannot find any exact parallel to the Pinari in accounts of other Melanesian peoples. There may be some affinity with the *adaro ni hasimou* of San Cristoval, who have long, straight hair and are malevolent (Fox, 1924, p. 129). But they are described as dark skinned, whereas my informants all laid stress on the fact that a Pinari's skin was as light as a white man's. Their behaviour also differs in detail.

the names of the various small islands at the northwest corner of Bougainville, but also the names of the local chieftains. In Empress Augusta Bay I found people from Mono and Shortland who had settled there; in the village of Nomanoma on the east coast I met a native I knew from Buka who had married a Nomanoma woman and as a result had settled there. Gorai in Shortland told me that his father, a native of Mono, had subjugated and exterminated the original local population with the aid of his people; he claimed that the present-day inhabitants of the Shortland Islands comprised recent settlers from all the surrounding islands. Among Gorai's numerous wives many came from Bougainville, some from Mono, and others from Choiseul. From all of this it becomes apparent that the coastal population, for generations, has frequently shifted and been moved about, whereas the inland population in its inaccessible mountain position was, to be sure, exposed to the attacks of the coastal inhabitants (of whom certain individuals were occasionally led into captivity as slaves), yet preserved its character in a purer and more pristine condition than the coastal inhabitants, who have been exposed to so many influences. [567]

for their manufacture is also present in the coastal regions and since, as a matter of fact, the inlanders can obtain many things that they use for making them only by bartering with the coastal peoples. I can explain this circumstance only in this way: the coastal inhabitants were later intruders from other Melanesian Islands who were not familiar with these weapons. Comprehending their great advantages, they took over their use and procured them from the original inhabitants. We find bows, arrows, and spears as instruments of war in Buka and Bougainville, on the islands in the Bougainville [3] Strait and on Mono.

On the islands situated to the southeast bows and arrows are less important as instruments of war; there we find artistically woven shields and carefully wrought clubs (which recently have been displaced to a great extent by longhandled iron axes), whereas shields are completely absent in Bougainville and on the neighboring islands and clubs play a very minor rôle. The excellent arms of the northwestern Solomon Islanders have protected them for generations against the attacks of the headhunters from Vella Lavella and New Georgia. The latter have always ravaged the islands of Choiseul and Ysabel, but greatly feared the noiseless arrows of our region, which struck their mark from the distance so surely and effectively. And although in recent times the headhunters, especially from Australia, are well provided with firearms despite all prohibitions, they still do not dare to extend their raids farther than northern Choiseul. I have unfortunately frequently had the opportunity to find out personally how unprotected one feels against the silently flying arrows even if one is equipped with the best firearms.

Although my observations are incomplete and defective with regard to the interior tribes, I still felt that I was justified in publishing them: in part to supplement the observations of earlier writings about the Solomon Islands; and in part to arouse interest once again in these islands which are highly remarkable in every respect. The New Guinea Company in Berlin, which, by virtue of a royal letter of safe-conduct, is the actual ruler of this unknown region, unfortunately is not following the footsteps of the old Hamburg firm of Johann Cäsar Godeffroy, to which scholarship is indebted for extensive information about a great part of the South Seas. As a result of contact with the whites, which increases from year to year, many characteristic features are slowly beginning to disappear even on the northwestern Solomon Islands. Stone axes, for example, are no longer in actual use along the coast of Bougainville; they have been completely displaced by axes and knives of iron. Even among the inland tribes the new implements have replaced the old ones, though only quite recently. Only in the interior can one still occasionally obtain stone axes with the original handle, but on the coast the old implements must first be sought out laboriously from rubbish heaps, and even older people no longer know how to make the original binding. On the spears that formerly were prepared with the most minute care one now frequently finds strips of gaudy cotton material that are supposed to replace the former fine weaving. In the boats they now make use of sails (of white or bright-colored cotton material), which formerly were never used, since the boats were propelled exclusively by oars. Settlements and plantations

unexpectedly and immediately went on board, where his people proposed the plan to him. In his laconic manner he answered: "Good! Do what you want to, but I am on the side of the white men." Obviously the hostile venture did not come to pass, and with the aid of Gorai and the islanders who had recently been so hostilely disposed, they succeeded [5] in setting their schooner afloat again. A favorite expression of the old man was: "To be sure, I have a black skin, but my heart is white." When he died in 1894 one of his last commands was that no slaves be killed after his death--a custom that even today is still practiced in Bougainville and on the Shortland Islands upon the death of a chieftain. A few years ago I was lying at anchor in the little Banin Bay on the north coast of Bougainville. A great part of the coastal people was absent, as I found out, on a war expedition against the mountain people. On the following morning the whole group, about fifty men, came back and brought along as a prisoner of war a man who was carrying a child about a year old in his arms. Upon interrogation it turned out that, farther inland, they had surprised a number of natives who were quietly working on a plantation; men as well as women had hastily taken flight, and they had not succeeded in taking any prisoners. Since, however, the inland villages had now been alarmed, they gave up their war expedition and retreated to the previously mentioned plantation to pass the night there. During the night they had heard a slight noise and, suspecting an attack by the mountain people, had carefully kept watch; they saw a single man who walked forward, looking around cautiously, until, having reached a banana tree, he picked up a child and then just as cautiously started out on his way back. He and the child had then been silently surrounded and captured. The child had been forgotten by its mother during the hasty flight. When it was finally missed, the father had returned, despite the risks connected with it, to seek and save his offspring in the hiding place known to him; he was more than a little surprised when I bought him free with a few articles and he was told he could return home safely--which he hastily did.

These examples, I believe, suffice to demonstrate that despite cannibalism and other not particularly gentle customs and practices, the northern Solomon Islanders on the whole are not so cruel and wild as they have been otherwise described. They contrast very favorably in comparison with the inhabitants of the other islands of the archipelago, especially with the notorious headhunters of Vella Lavella and New Georgia. To be sure, feuds of greater and lesser duration are not infrequent among neighboring tribes, especially between the coast inhabitants and the mountain dwellers, but on the other South Sea Islands quite similar conditions prevail and it occurs to

no one so regard their people as exceedingly cruel for this reason. The Christian Samoans have been waging war among themselves almost continually for years, and even if they do not eat their prisoners of war, they do cut off their heads; despite this they have the reputation of being a kind and good-natured people. When our German government acquired colonies in the Western Pacific, it was certainly an extremely good move to include the northwestern Solomon Islands in the realm of the new colony. Specifically the natives of these islands have, up until now, turned out well as members of the small defensive army in the Bismarck Archipelago. Just as they have proven themselves loyal and reliable as plantation workers, they have also often won the praise of their leaders on the frequently very laborious and dangerous expeditions against natives in the archipelago.

Tribal Government

As is the case everywhere in the Solomon Islands, the honor of being chieftain is hereditary. The oldest son is not always his father's successor; if the father has several sons, he names one as his heir, as a rule to be sure, the eldest.

Every village has its own chieftain who, strictly speaking, rules his own little realm himself; however, weaker chieftains frequently ally themselves with neighboring chieftains in an offensive and defensive alliance against neighboring enemies. Chieftains who have at their command a large number of warriors not infrequently compel weaker neighboring chieftains into a sort of vassalage, but the weaker one's duties seem to consist solely in accompanying the stronger one on war expeditions and supporting him with his men; in return he can always count on the protection of the stronger chieftain. The deceased Gorai in Shortland had established such an extended vassalage, which comprised the southern half of Bougainville, all the islands of the Bougainville Strait, and the north end of Choiseul. He was looked upon as the reigning chieftain, and no one dared to undertake anything against his will. After Gorai's death this league disintegrated, and since the deceased was a prudent man and very favorably disposed towards the whites, the peaceful conditions created by him are in danger of gradual collapse. On Buka the tribes around Carola Harbor and the opposite east coast of Hanahan are allied against those on the island's north cape and on the mountainous south end of Zoloss. In Bougainville exactly the same sort

of alliances may be found. At present, the allies are almost always in a state of feud with neighboring allies. As a result there is a continual preparedness for war. While working on the plantations, fishing along the coast, etc., bow and arrow are always kept at hand, for an attack can always be expected. Longer and shorter intervals between these feuds occur, of course, but not as the result of a mutual agreement, but as a consequence of unfavorable weather conditions or major losses of men in one party or the other. When disputes arise between allies within these leagues, these too can lead to a temporary feud, but after a certain time peace is negotiated by intermediaries--as a rule by payment. 627

Social Groups, Marriage Customs, Position of Women

In Buka the whole population is divided into two large groups that have as their symbols the chicken and the frigate bird and are named accordingly Kēreu and Mānu, after the two birds. If a man is a Kēreu, then he must marry a Mānu, and vice versa: if he is a Mānu he must marry a Kēreu. The children always inherit the symbol of the mother. In northern Bougainville the same two birds serve as clan symbols: the chicken, Atōa, and the frigate bird, Manū; the situation here is very much like that on Buka. In southern Bougainville and on the islands of the Bougainville Strait very similar conditions exist, but with the difference that a greater number of birds serve as symbols. Also members having the same symbol are not named after the relevant bird but bear their own clan name. The members of the clan who have as their sign the dove (baōlo) are called Baumane; those that have the Buceros (popo) are called Sfmāa; those that have the cockatoo (ōna) are called Bānahu; those that have the frigate bird (mānua) are called Talapuini; those that have the tigencū are called Hanapare; those who have the kāpi: Talasaggi; those that have tālile: Habubūsu. Members of one clan always marry members of another, but here too it is the established rule that the children belong to the clan of the mother. 66 171 614 616

There is no externally visible clan symbol; everyone seems to know the symbol of the others. Natives of the same clan symbol consider themselves close relatives; if, for example, a Kēreu or a Sfmāa comes to another village, he is received hospitably by the local Kēreu or Sfmāa and given room and board. Clan symbols from the rest of

the animal world do not exist: they are taken solely from the bird world.

Since children inherit their mother's clan symbol, it follows that, if they are girls, they belong to a clan whose members the father can marry and can theoretically be married by him. In practice we find this in Buka and northern Bougainville; there it is not rare that the father is married to his own daughter and has children by her. This is not regarded as forbidden; but a union of two people who have the same clan symbol is considered a crime. In southern Bougainville and on the islands of the Bougainville Strait the very same view prevails, but its practice is not so general as in the north. A similar arrangement probably also exists in the other Solomon Islands. I conclude this from a statement of Woodford in his book Among the head-hunters, p. 40 ff. It says there: "It came to my knowledge that an extensive and widespread system of 'castes' or totems exists upon this and some of the adjacent islands. The name of them on Guadalcanar and upon Gela or Florida is Kema, upon Savo Ravu. At Veisali, at the west end of Guadalcanar, the word used is Kua . . . . The natives told me that man might not marry a woman belonging to his own caste . . . . [7] Of these castes the largest and most powerful is the Gambata." He then also mentions the castes Kiki, Lakoli, Kakau, and Tanakindi.

The native acquires wives in various ways. In part he steals them from a neighboring tribe and marries them if the clan symbol allows it; if not, he sells the stolen woman to a native whose symbol allows him to marry her. In by far the most cases, however, he barters for his wife. As medium of exchange he makes use of the current money varieties. In Buka a wife costs from four to six fathoms of white shell money (hēruanne) or two to four lengths of tooth money (baîîu and rāki). On the islands of the Bougainville Strait a wife costs from five to ten fathoms of white shell money (pālassale) or one to two fathoms of red shell money (mismis). On the mainland of south Bougainville the same two types of money are used as media of exchange, but in addition one called mānei, which is made on Shortland and serves especially for the trade dealings of the islanders with the mountain people. The latter uses as a medium of exchange exclusively the mānei imported from the Shortland Islands; they call it aputa. This money has substantially less value; one needs twenty to thirty fathoms

in order to acquire a wife. Abducted wives are married only in Buka and north Bougainville, but not in the southern regions of the island; it seems that all prisoners are killed there. 436 583 171

At a normal wedding, as far as I could ascertain, there are no further ceremonies. When the purchase is concluded, the man takes the bought woman home with him, and the wife's relatives give a present consisting of cooked food. After about a week the purchaser and his relatives reciprocate. At special weddings, however, certain festivities take place. In European museums one rather frequently finds objects from Buka and north Bougainville that are commonly called "dance clubs." Some of these are illustrated for example in Edge-Partington, Volume I, pages 244 and 245 (with the incorrect heading: "New Britain Archipelago"); Volume II, page 125 (the note to 3 is based on an error). Furthermore, in Schmeltz and Krause, Catalogue of the Museum of Godeffroy, Plate VI, Figures 3 and 3a. Also the dance club from Treasury Island that is depicted in Guppy's work unquestionably diffused from the north. These dance clubs are correctly named, but they are used only for specific ceremonies. If a chieftain gives his daughter to a native in marriage, great festivities are arranged. The participants fashion clubs of this sort, which are called kaisa and vary greatly according to the taste and the skill of the maker. Most frequently the flat clubs have a broad blade that is painted black, white and red, and are ornamented with the characteristic grotesque human figure or only with its head at the upper end. Other dance clubs are shaped like a lancet, in imitation of war clubs, and have triangular or diamond shaped figures that are painted red, white or black on a black or white background. As a rule they are all made of soft wood that is easy to work, but now and then you find them made out of palm wood or some other heavy hardwood. The wedding guests hold the clubs in their hands; groups of dancers surround the couple, sometimes both, sometimes just one of them, and the clubs are alternately held up in the air or stuck in the ground in a circle around the central figure. After a number of different figures have been executed, they throw away the kaisa, or the boys and youths pick them up and sell them to passing ships for a song. For this reason one can occasionally get hold of hundreds of these dance objects in that region without difficulty, whereas at other times it is impossible to acquire even a single one despite the most tempting offer. 585 585 293 [531] 585

When a woman's husband dies in Buka and north Bougainville, she returns to her parents, if they are still alive, or to her closest relatives; 768

the children accompany the mother. In south Bougainville and on the islands of the Bougainville Strait the wife of the deceased remains in the community; frequently the dead man's brother marries the widow; but if he is not so inclined or is already sufficiently provided with wives, the widow can marry another native if he pays the dead man's brother the customary purchase price.

[8] The chieftains normally have several wives; the number varies from five to fifty and even more. The common people have one, two or three wives, but rarely more. Male slaves may not marry.

The women are treated relatively well; to be sure, they have to do a great part of the field work, but they are not slaves to the same extent as on the other Solomon Islands. Also their morality is on a far higher plane than elsewhere in the group. Promiscuous intercourse among unwedded people does not take place to the extent that it does, for example, on St. Christoval and on Guadalcanar; strict propriety is insisted upon in marriage. The wives frequently have a decisive influence on the conduct of their husbands, and I have often had occasion to observe that once you are on good terms with the wives, the husbands regulate their behavior accordingly. Gifts distributed to a few old women often have better success than all arts of persuasion. The chieftain's wives have an even better life; many of them do nothing at all; they keep their husb and company when he is at home and do various kinds of handwork. Some see to it that the plantations always supply the requisite amount of foodstuffs, but only when the husband condescends to work in the plantation with his own hands do all of his better halves accompany him. When he goes on war expeditions the whole group stays at home under the surveillance of a few of the older men who are unfit for battle. One of the chieftain's wives is designated as chief wife, and her male children are the actual heirs of the chieftain. When individual communities live on islands too small to support plantations and produce the needed amount of food, it is the wives' job to keep up market trade with the wealthier neighboring districts. Early in the morning you can see them going to the market in large and small boats, usually accompanied by an older man who probably has the duty of supervisor, since a single old man is scarcely able to provide any sort of effective protection in case of an enemy attack.

Birth and Children

In Buka and north Bougainville, as far as I could ascertain, there are no special ceremonies when a child is born. In south Bougainville a great feast (called marromarro) is prepared during pregnancy by the women of the community whereby numerous dishes play an important rôle. This feast is celebrated outside of the village; the husbands are not allowed to be present, but the women are kind enough to send them an abundant portion of the delicacies they serve; cuscus (a phalanger) roast is especially preferred on these occasions. If a son is born to a chieftain, this is the occasion for special celebrations. Neither the infant nor the mother is permitted to leave the hut until the child is 1 1/2 to 2 years old. Then great amounts of food are prepared, and on a certain day a great feast takes place accompanied by dancing and singing. On this occasion the son and mother come out into the light of day and are admired and marveled at. In Buka and north Bougainville a similar ceremony takes place, but only when the boy is 7 to 8 years old. He is not kept inside until the time of this festivity, but can move about as he pleases within and outside the hut. The feast consists of a colossal meal, and a special dance (called hesinna) is connected with it. Also a special song is rendered by the dancers that begins with the words: lili a mann etc. (for the song as well as the music cf. the relevant chapter). The singers and dancers form a broad circle, and each one holds in his hand an approximately 1 1/2 meter long bamboo cane, the lower end of which is closed by one of the natural segments of the reed. In tempo with the melody they move in a circle and at the same time strike the bamboo cane (called zekull) on the ground, producing a hollow roaring sound.

Infanticide and abortion -- horrible practices that are still quite widespread even today on the Solomon Islands situated farther to the southeast -- do not occur here so extensively. [9] A proof of this is the great number of children that one encounters everywhere in the villages in Buka and Bougainville. When more peaceful conditions finally come about, this population will surely increase rapidly. As the situation stands today, the numerous feuds and, connected with them, the unstable life in the open, are not factors that contribute to population increase.

Burial Practices

Obviously, a person's death also gives rise to many festivities and ceremonies. In Buka and north Bougainville only two methods of burial are known: namely, ahärre kuerre or submerging the corpse at sea; and ha zërokere de akui or burying the corpse. During the burial a great meal (a känano a kapane) is provided by the survivors. The dance that is performed afterwards is called a kümar. These festivities in honor of the deceased are repeated from time to time. During the ceremony men and women paint themselves white. -- In south Bougainville in Shortland the method is similar, but here cremation is also known, which is called hanghäli in Shortland and kasivei in Bougainville. Cremation of the body is a mark of the aristocrat and probably a custom imported from the south. Less exalted people are buried (mö kösisai in Bougainville and nahonaha in Shortland) or submerged in the ocean (fanfäntup in Shortland and on the coast). No matter what sort of burial, great banquets are the rule at all of them; naturally the cremation of the aristocrats is carried out on a magnificent scale. The funereal pyre is erected in the village itself, usually rectangular and flanked at each corner by a high pole. This pole is frequently carved roughly in the shape of a human face at the upper end and painted black or red; but I also saw very simple poles with no painting or carving; the latter as well as the former were called kakalo. After the corpse is placed on the pyre, the pyre is lighted to the accompaniment of loud lamenting and howling. The burning never suffices to transform the body completely into ashes; the bone remains are carefully collected by the family and kept for several days in the hut of the deceased; during this period the lament rarely ceases, and it is especially the wives who develop a particular virtuosity in this respect. After this period the actual burial of the remains takes place. In the place where the corpse was burned, between the four kakalo, a pit is dug and an earthen jug is deposited in it; the remains of the corpse are placed in this jug and a second jug is inverted over it, serving as a lid for the first; then the pit is filled up with dirt. This procedure is called irinäfui in Shortland and nömokai in Bougainville. Simultaneously most of the relatives put on a big banquet (funfapassa in Shortland and käna mfnavai in Bougainville), whereby everything edible is served, with the exception of taro, which is forbidden on this occasion. The women put on mourning as before by covering their faces and the upper

764

764
171

765
301
386

764 171 [765 301 386]

chest with a heavy layer of white paint. This material is a kind of soil that is found in certain areas of Bougainville and called mā (māso in Shortland); this soil, kept wrapped in leaves, until needed, is then pulverized and mixed with the juice of sugar cane so that a rather thick dough is formed. The men do not paint themselves. After a few months another great banquet (mōu in Bougainville and isāisa kavunoi in Shortland) is given in memory of the deceased; after this the women remove their white mourning paint, and thereby bring the whole death ceremony to an end. In some places the place of burial is fenced in with four boards that form an oblong rectangle and in part are carved and painted. Within this fence (called brotoko) all sorts of effects of the deceased are placed: strings of beads, bracelets and similar objects; also bright-flowering ornamental shrubs and flowers are planted on the spot.

Cremation is to be found on the east coast of Bougainville all the way up to the village of Toboroi; the practice does not seem to exist beyond that point; on the west side I found this custom in Siuai, but likewise no farther north than there.

766 [565]

Formerly it was the rule that a slave was killed at the death of an aristocrat. The custom may have declined somewhat in most recent times, but even today it is still [10] practiced in regions where the natives are not strongly influenced by the whites. I conclude this from the fact that, after I had sought enlightenment on this point from various people and had always received a negative answer, a boy of twelve gave me the desired information. He seemed to see nothing wrong in it and hence found no reason to keep it a secret. Even the older ones ceased to deny it when they saw that I knew about this custom. Normally only one slave is killed; the corpse is not eaten, but remains lying in the same spot until some friends bury it; if this does not happen, then it simply lies there until dogs, boars and decomposition have done their work.

Masks, Mask Customs and Related Matters

532 171

In Bougainville as well as in Buka and on the Nissan Group masks are used for certain festivities. The few masks that I got to see in Bougainville consisted of bent wooden boards that were painted black, and a protruding nose was carved on them; there were apertures for

mouth and eyes; on the black background of the masks red and white lines and figures were drawn, which imitated the decoration customary at the dances. No particular reverence seemed to be shown to these masks; boys and youths used them for all sorts of pranks, even in the presence of women, and seemed to take particular delight in frightening the women with them. On the Nissan Group the masks are made far more carefully. A frame of bamboo strips that covers the whole head is covered with bast. On this an artificial face is painted with the pulverized nut of parinarium laurinum; an artificial wig of moss or plant fibers is attached to it; the ears are indicated by carved pieces of wood that project. This is one sort of mask that is common there; another sort represents a face carved out of wood, on whose black background the customary artistic facial scarification is carefully imitated with white and red lines; the wigs of these masks are made of human hair and show the coiffure that is customary in that region. A peculiar shirtlike garment with sleeves of fiber material dyed brown goes with the masks. It is draped over the body and reaches to the heels. 532 171

On a voyage to the northern Solomon Islands in October 1897 I found out that the Nissan masks are also in use on the island of Buka, although the form deviates somewhat. After a long questioning I succeeded in obtaining some information about them, but nobody seemed to be inclined to explain exhaustively; the whole matter was treated only with great hesitancy. It was not until I reached Ralum that I succeeded in piecing together the fragments by questioning individual Buka Islanders. They, too, spoke only when I questioned them individually. When several of them were together, they pretended that they knew nothing about the matter. I soon found out that these matters are kept so strictly secret at home that there a betrayal of the secrecy involves a death sentence. Nevertheless I believe that the following portrayal comes very close to the truth.

From time to time the men betake themselves at a prearranged time to a remote spot in the forest, where they clear a little place of bushes and underbrush and erect small huts. This place is called tálohu and the women are strictly forbidden to enter it. In the tálohu they now prepare masks very similar to the above-described ones from Nissan; when they are through, they make of tree bast the previously described shirtlike garment and the garb is then complete. During 796

a respectful distance. After the feast has ended the parents of the Matasesẽn give the Marau presents consisting of two or three strings of biruan, spears, bows, arrows and other effects. At the festival place the hassebou are [12] taken off the youths and burned, and there likewise the long locks of the Matasesẽn are cut off, but then tied up in leaves in a bundle and kept in their huts. As a rule one long lock is left on the nape, which is decorated at the end with beads or a shell. After the haircutting the Marau take their Matasesẽn back into their home villages, and this in turn is again the occasion for further festivities. When they come back a tall post or mast is erected on an open spot in the village; this mast, which is decorated with foliage and painted, is climbed by a Marau. From the top he calls the Matasesẽn by the names by which they are to be known in the future; the old name is forgotten. This mast is called kukun a solo; after the name giving it is removed, chopped up, and burned. After the rukruk festivity has been completed, the Matasesẽn can choose a wife. They are considered adults and take part in all festivities of the men. A comparison of the rukruk of the Solomon Islanders with the dukduk of the Gazelle Peninsula forces itself spontaneously upon one. It is not only the name that leads to such a comparison. In the dukduk a special festival place, the tarein, is set aside for the participants, as in the rukruk the tãlohu--two words which, in view of the otherwise very different languages, have the greatest similarity. The exclusion of women from all festivities at the festival place is common to both and likewise the pretense that the participants commune with spirits at the festival place. The female spirit Ruk a tzon [sic] corresponds to Tubuvan of dukduk, who is conceived as female; the male spirit Ruk a tahoi corresponds to the male dukduk. The frightening of women -- in Bougainville by the Matasesẽn and in Buka by the Kokorra--and the appropriation of the objects thrown away by the frightened women is the same in both places, and likewise the slaying of women if they accidentally discover any of the secrets of rukruk and dukduk. The burning of the hassebou and the burning of the garments and masks used in dukduk is a further common characteristic. If we were better acquainted with rukruk, then far more similarities could probably be found. It is easily comprehensible that different characteristics developed in the course of time among the two tribes as a result of their isolation from each other. The inhabitants of the Gazelle Peninsula, who to a far greater extent than the Solomon Islanders have the need

796
171

to accumulate and acquire shell money, found in dukduk an appropriate means of satisfying their greed in the most lucrative way. If the whirring rod is not known on the Gazelle Peninsula, this speaks for the fact that the people who introduced the practice there were acquainted, to be sure, with many details of the custom and specifically with those which were relatively easy to find out; but the true secret--the voices of the spirits, which is so carefully concealed during rukruk that in that region you never see a whirring rod--remained hidden from them. A direct transplantation of rukruk from Bougainville and Buka all the way to the Peninsula is scarcely conceivable although these islands are separated only by about 130 nautical miles of ocean. It is far more probable that it spread indirectly on the previously mentioned path by way of Nissan to Wonneran and from there to South New Mecklenburg and New Lauenburg. On the way, then, reminiscences from northwest New Mecklenburg attached themselves to the tradition brought from the Solomon Islands, especially the masking of the face. It is also not impossible that this masking, which is completely absent in Bougainville, is a modification introduced from New Mecklenburg via Wonneram to Nissan and Buka. Unfortunately the dukduk customs existing in southern New Mecklenburg (which deviate from those of the Gazelle Peninsula) are not known; it is very probable that if we get to know them someday, the origins in Bougainville can be proven with far more certainty. Quite recently I have been informed of a peculiar headdress from the mountains that form the western edge of the Gazelle Peninsula. The population there, called "Beining" by the rest of the Gazelle Peninsula, differs completely in speech and in customs and practices from the other inhabitants of the peninsula; they are just as different from the inhabitants of the part of New Pomerania situated farther west. This peculiar headdress that is worn by the male natives for certain dances and reaches an enormous height--up to ten meters--has much in common with the headcoverings of dukduk; it is not improbable that the dukduk people have also adopted from these neighbors this or that characteristic and modified it in their own way.

[13] Anthropophagy

Cannibalism is not so widespread as is generally assumed. On the Shortland Islands in any case this custom has now been given up completely and no cases have been reported to me from the interior of southern Bougainville. On their war expeditions the Shortland Islanders kill everything that falls into their hands; only rarely are slaves taken. In the mountain villages of south Bougainville the slain enemies are carried to the settlement and hung up for several days in the vicinity of the taboo house. Then they take down the bodies, remove and wash the head, and then store the skull in the taboo house; the body is buried. The skulls one sees in these houses are accordingly not the skulls of relatives, but war trophies; skulls of the deceased are never kept. If you draw a line diagonally across Bougainville--say, from Empress Augusta Bay on the west coast to the deep bay that lies opposite it on the east side--then this forms approximately the border of cannibalism. North of this line signs of it are all too clear, even if the inhabitants of this area were to deny the practice, and they do not think that even this is necessary. No village is without human bones and smashed skulls, and no house lacks the jawbones of the consumed people. In south Bougainville and on the islands of the Bougainville Strait on the other hand I have never been able to find a skull or jawbone despite the most diligent search. This is all the more peculiar since, on Choiseul and the other islands situated to the southeast, cannibalism is in full sway even today. I am inclined to assume that one must ascribe it to the great influence of the deceased Gorai on Shortland that the otherwise generally common practice has become extinct there today. Years ago, coming from Buka, I had on board a number of skulls that I showed to old Gorai; I remember very distinctly with what revulsion he regarded the skulls, and he could not be persuaded to touch them. At that time I thought it only hypocrisy, but after many visits and after the most intensive investigations I have come to the conclusion that, if cannibalism ever prevailed in that particular region, the practice has disappeared today.

In Buka and north Bougainville, as has been stated, no secret is made of the fact that cannibalism still goes on. Years ago on a tour through Buka I spent the night in a hut in Hanahan on the

a dull sound. The song is sung softly by all the singers, the tempo is slow like a slow march, and the step is accordingly slow with slightly bent knees. Men as well as women take part in this performance. 533 535 852

In Buka and north Bougainville I have seen other dances with very elegant steps performed--both by one sex alone as well as by both together. The dancers stand in rows, sometimes in couples next to each other and sometimes in rows opposite each other; the movements consisted of delicate steps (especially the female dancers gave an astonishing performance) as well as knee bends, twistings and undulations of the hips, and slow movements of the arms. These dances could very well be executed in a European ballroom, only I fear that few people would subject themselves to the effort of practicing them. Dances of this sort can only be executed by people who, like the Solomon Islanders, practice and study almost daily, from youth on, the complicated steps with the most varied bodily movements. Flower and foliage garlands around various parts of the body, flower bouquets in the hands and painting of the body red and white go along with these dances. The song that accompanies these dances is always soft and subdued; unfortunately I was not able to get hold of and write down the melody. 535 [302]

On the Shortland Islands I wrote down a few melodies but unfortunately not the words. They are the following: [Translator's note: two lines of music omitted.] Both melodies were sung in harmony. At the same time the singers walked around in a circle at a rather rapid march tempo; even half-grown children took part in it, and the [17] high children's voices in conjunction with the deeper accompanying voices of the adults produced a very harmonious song which sounded nice even to a European ear. 533 171

When the men go to sea in their large boats, they generally begin singing the previously-mentioned song consisting of 'o' and 'a'; for this same simple text there are still other melodies, which are sung on this occasion. The shovel-shaped oars are dipped into the water in rhythm with the song, sometimes faster and sometimes slower according to the tempo. 533

Dwellings

House construction differs in the various parts of the region in question. The Sir Charles Hardy Islands, the Carteret Islands, Buka, and north Bougainville do not differ essentially from one another. Here the huts, for the most part, are situated one beside the other, five to ten in number, the gable ends with the entrance facing the street and the sides so close together that there is scarcely room to pass between them. These buildings vary in length from 6 to 12 meters and in width from 3 to 5 meters with a height of from 3 to 4 meters. The side walls are about half a meter high and consist of strips of the outer hardwood of a palm species, which are laid vertically next to one another and tied firmly to horizontal strips of the same material. Strong central pillars carry the roof, and thin strips of palm wood are fastened perpendicular to the ridgepole in such a way that they extend far beyond the side walls and, when the framework is covered with leaves, almost conceal these sidewalls. These rafters are connected and firmly attached to each other by roof laths, which run parallel to the ridge pole; as a rule the whole roof frame is slightly rounded. As roof covering either woven coconut leaves are used or far more frequently the leaves of another palm--if I am not mistaken, Phytelephas; these leaves are placed individually on a rod about 1 1/2 meters long, and a leaf rib penetrates the individual leaves in such a way that they cover each other and cannot slide off the rod. These individual roof sections are now fastened next to each other and tightly over one another on the roof framework and make a cool impenetrable roof. The gable ends are faced with boards that are split from a tree trunk with an ax and carefully smoothed; and here, about one-half meter above the floor is the entrance, a small rectangular hole, just large enough for a man to slip through comfortably. On the same level with this entrance there is an approximately 1 meter wide platform which takes up the whole width of the gable end and is shaded by the projecting roof; this place is the favorite haunt of the women and children, who, at the slightest suspicious noise, slip from here into the hut and close the little door behind them. Inside, the huts are frequently divided by walls into individual compartments that serve for living, sleeping and cooking. The beds are usually board and bamboo frames that are slightly raised above the floor; sometimes

342 [171] 824 352

a simple coconut leaf mat on the hard packed floor takes the place of these. Under and next to each bed a glowing and smoking coal fire is kept burning during the night--partially to warm the body and partially as protection against gnats. Since the previously mentioned entrance to the hut is the only opening, obviously only a little light enters. Moreover, the hut is completely darkened by the constant smoke, and it is very difficult to distinguish one thing from another inside this dwelling. 352 [354] 342

In this region the chieftains have no special houses, and there are likewise no special assembly houses like the ones we encounter farther to the south. If now and then a chieftain has a larger hut, then the front compartment is generally open, and the big wooden signal drums stand here. This place is also used as the council room of the old men or as the reception room for guests, and thus it substitutes for the taboo houses that will be mentioned later. 344 362

In southern Bougainville as well as on the island of Fauro, the dwellings are frequently built on piles about three to four meters high; a ladder leads up to the door opening. Here the roofs are not so carefully constructed as in the north. The two flat sides are not rounded, and meet at a very obtuse angle. In addition to these pile dwellings there are also huts built on level ground. In the Shortland Islands the latter are more prevalent. 342 171

[18] Characteristic for this part of the islands, however, are the taboo houses and the large houses of the chieftains. Coming from the north, we encounter the first so-called "taboo house" in the village of Toboroi on the east coast of Bougainville. The word "taboo house" is, strictly speaking, a false designation; it would be more correct to say "men's assembly house" since only women and children are forbidden to enter the building. These assembly houses are rather spacious buildings; the floor plan is a rectangle of 15 to 20 meters in length and 6 to 10 meters in width. The side walls are 2 to 2 1/2 meters high; the gable ends are open and the corner posts are sometimes carved--sometimes in the form of the human figure, sometimes in the form of a shark, but just as frequently the carving is a decoration consisting of zigzag lines, rectangles and other geometrical figures. On the side walls of the house tree trunks or bamboo canes are attached to one another to make a long bench; here the men and the youths squat or lie. The favorite place--I am almost 344 171

inclined to say the place of honor--is the bench-like platform at one gable end; this is where the village chieftain sits when he receives guests, and here the old family heads squat beside him when they debate about affairs of the community. Otherwise the assembly house is not particularly revered either by men or by women. Here the men carry out a great part of their work, construct the side pieces of their boats, carve the grotesque boat or house ornaments, weave baskets, etc. From time to time the village stores products assembled for sale here, such as copra and trepang. Even the village hogs are allowed to enter the hut, a privilege, however, that is not extended to the female population of the village; the women are allowed to watch from the outside and see everything that goes on in the assembly house, but they may in no case enter this area. For the great banquets of the men the women carry the prepared foods to the house and put it down at the entrance; inside the men divide the delicacies and send to the women waiting outside the portion assigned to them. In the assembly houses, as a result, one frequently sees whole rows of pigs' jawbones, fishtails or tortoise heads, which are preserved as souvenirs of these feasts. The assembly houses are never built on pilings, but stand on level ground.

344
171

In regions where such assembly houses are customary, sometimes one of the large sheds that are used to store the war boats serve this purpose.

The chieftains' houses, which we encounter in the same regions as the above-mentioned assembly houses, are distinguished from the other dwellings by careful construction and by their great spaciousness. It is obvious that a chieftain must have more space at his disposal--partly to house his numerous wives and children and partly to store his sometimes rather considerable possessions consisting of products of local industry. These chieftains' houses either are constructed on pilings of about two meters in height or stand on level ground; the first type we find especially in east Bougainville and on Fauro, the second on the Shortland Islands. The latter has walls of 4 to 5 meters in height; long low wings extend to the sides, which serve mainly as sleeping quarters for the wives and children; the high central hall is the actual living quarters for the chieftain and the storage room for his possessions. The chieftains' houses on pilings have lower side walls and no separate living quarters for the owner. It is not customary to receive friends and neighbors in these dwellings. The living quarters of the chieftain, like

those of normal people, are forbidden territory to other members of the tribe, and only the wives are an exception to this rule. The men have the assembly house as a common meeting place; neighborly visits in our sense of the word are not customary in the Solomon Islands. As a privileged person, I have occasionally been allowed to enter the chieftains' houses. After your eye has become accustomed to the darkness of the room, you notice the women on the raised beds; part of them are busy caring for the children, others sew strips of pandanus leaves together, prepare fish nets, etc. At most, the favorite wife of the chieftain is unoccupied, and a number of the other wives are always present to serve her exclusively. It is often quite amusing to see how this sultana tyrannizes not only her fellow wives, but also her husband and wields over him a strict petticoat regime. Despite the fact that the men seem to pay little attention to their wives outside, they seem to be very obedient within their own four walls.

[19] Clothing and Ornaments

In very few cases can one speak of clothing in our sense of the word. Gay-colored cotton materials used as loin cloths are customary for men as well as for women in many places nowadays, but there are large areas where they are not yet in use. At most belts and aprons hanging down from them come into consideration there.

Belts are worn extensively. They sometimes consist solely of a narrow string fastened firmly around the waist. Young men occasionally use as belts the money strings made of round shell disks and called biruan (see below). The most desired belt (mávesi in Buka), however, consists of braid work such as I shall describe under bracelets; some of these are ten centimeters wide and are executed in a carefully worked pattern in black, yellow and red. More frequently long strips of red-dyed rattan are worn (tóno in Buka). These strips are 5 to 10 millimeters wide and 2 to 8 meters long, dyed a pretty red, and engraved with rectangular figures and zigzag lines. These strips are placed closely around the waist and often drawn extremely tightly. I noticed this belt especially on young dandies, now and then also on older men, but never on women. Both sexes, on the other hand, occasionally wear a belt of pandanus leaves; the leaves are rolled up and natural-colored strands are woven with black or red dyed strands to form a cord that is

there are ornamental objects shells and other materials that are occasionally put on. 301

The islanders wear a twofold ornament as war decoration. First the head is decorated with a plume made of white and yellow cockatoo feathers. Then [20] the warrior hangs a bunch of red and yellow-colored leaf strips around his neck and arranges it in such a way that it hangs down his back. In Buka this ornament is called kehala; it is made of strips of dried palm leaves approximately 50 centimeters long which are firmly fastened together at one end to form a round button, to which the cord that is put around the neck is attached. The strips that hang down loose are dyed red for a distance of about 10 centimeters from the button; then there is a section of about 10 centimeters which is left its original color; the remainder--about 30 centimeters--is again dyed red. This dye pattern, however, is not constant, even though it is the one that occurs by far the most frequently; it seems to be adjusted to the taste of the individual, but the red color is never missing. The kehala is a talisman that is supposed to protect one from being wounded in war, and it corresponds to the actual war ornament of the Admiralty Islanders, which consists of a human bone that is tightly wound with the pinions of the frigate bird. 301 [304] [171]

The men pierce the septum of the nose and insert a plug of polished tridacna shell through the opening. This plug, called huin in Buka, varies in length and thickness; I have seen some 13 centimeters in length and 1 centimeter in diameter. Both ends of the carefully smoothed and rounded huin are pointed. 301 [304]

Earrings are not frequent, but here and there the young men wear ear ornaments (hakoto in Buka) made of white snail shells and differing in form and arrangement. Normally 3 to 10 white snail shells are sewed on each side of a straight little piece of wood, and a single snail finishes off the row at the lower end; sometimes the wood is bent or broken and sewed only on one side with snail shells; normally a red-dyed strip of rattan is fastened lengthwise over the wood to conceal the threads with which the snails are attached.

Chest ornaments are likewise not common; apart from the now very fashionable European beads I observed two different breast plates that are similar in form. Both consist of a circular plate of polished tridachna shell. One type is decorated by placing on it a thin plate of tortoise shell with filigree work; in Buka it is called gulu, and it is identical with the same ornament in the Admiralty Islands, in New Mecklenburg, and in the southern Solomon Islands, although it does not reach by far the refinement of the 301 171

tortoise shell ornaments such as those produced for example on Fischer and Gardner Islands. The other type consists likewise of a round tridachna plate, which, however, does not have on its surface a tortoise shell plate, but an engraved bird-like ornament that is dyed black; this far less frequent type is called kini in Buka. I believe that only these two forms are characteristic for the northern Solomon Islands. Now and then you find another ornamental object which upon questioning always turns out to have been brought in from other regions. On the east side of the island of Bougainville a few years ago I got a necklace of closely strung circular disks that overlapped--it was made from the upper part of a conus shell. I immediately recognized the Gilbert Islands as the place of origin of this necklace, and I soon found out that it had been taken from the occupants of a boat that had been driven ashore long ago.

301
171

On the Shortland Islands you still occasionally run into a sort of chest ornament that is made of brownish-red, black and white shell disks and which there plays a similar rôle to that of the crown jewels of civilized countries. They are called kiš and are so rare that everybody knows where such a treasure is to be found. Years ago the old chieftain Gorai showed me such an article, but could not be persuaded to give it up; even the most enticing offer was absolutely refused. After the death of the old man three such kiš are supposed to have been distributed; one is in the hands of a chieftain in south Bougainville, a second is kept by one of the sons of the deceased, and a third, in 1895, came into the possession of an Austrian Count Festetics, who got it by trade from a relative of the dead man in exchange for a repeating rifle with shells. The kiš consists first of a square with sides about 15 centimeters long. This square is made of reddish-brown disks that are attached firmly to one another in rows and form a wide frame; the middle is filled out with smaller squares in open work, made of brownish red, white, and black disks. One side of the square has long strands of rowed disks [21] that hang free; the opposite side has a number of similar strands fastened by their ends to both corners of the square; when the ornament is donned these strands are put across the head, the square then hangs at the chest, and the dangling strands form a sort of apron. These articles surely came north by way of trade from the islands situated farther to the south. After European glass beads were introduced into these regions, they made from this material quite similar articles, which however do not enjoy the esteem of the original. Red, white and blue beads take the place of the reddish-brown, white and black shell disks.

not unlike our scale-chains [Schuppenketten: A part of the German parade uniform. ed.] --is wound around the wrist. 301

Leg ornaments are seldom worn. On Bougainville I have occasionally observed rattan bands that were bound tightly around the ankles and that were sometimes dyed red; these rings are woven around the ankle and cannot be removed.

For toilet purposes a comb is used or, more properly speaking, an instrument for scratching the hair. Sometimes this instrument consists of a single, thin, pointed piece of wood, and sometimes it has from two to five teeth. Bamboo is the material normally used, but in south Bougainville they make them with greater care. There the upper end is often neatly woven for about 4 to 6 centimeters with variously colored bast fibers. The owner of a comb like this sticks it into his thick woolly tuft and, when he has the time and opportunity he scratches his hairdo into place. I wish to observe here also that the islanders do not treat their hair with lime; only on festive [22] occasions do they dye their hair with various pigments pulverized in oil. Red, green and white are the favorite colors, and by means of these various patterns are produced. The same colors serve also for the beautification of the body: burned ochre supplies the material for the red streaks around the eyes and mouth or for dyeing the external ear red; white is less common and is for the most part customary only for certain mourning ceremonies. 302 [384]

Money

436 [171]

In Buka and northern Bougainville, as well as on the Carteret and Nissan Islands, three different types of money are to be found, of which two are characteristic for this region. Almost all the types of money that I have seen in the Bismarck Archipelago and the Solomon Islands consist of shells worked to a greater or lesser extent; in the northwest part of the Solomon group the current money is made of animal teeth. The generic term for it is ulihu, but it is divided into two types, called reki and baiu: reki consists of the teeth of a type of bat; baiu, on the other hand, is made from the teeth of dolphins. A string of reki has about 300 teeth and is about 110 centimeters long, whereas the baiu strings consist of about 500 teeth and are 3 meters long; however, they are of equal value. All the teeth are bored through at the root and strung on a thin thread. The teeth are

arranged in such a way that the larger ones are always at the middle of the string and the smaller ones at both ends. But in order to make the string stronger, it is placed at the roots of the teeth between two thicker strings and these in turn are tied with a thinner string so that the individual teeth stand in intervals of about 3 to 6 millimeters, each tooth precisely parallel to the others and all the tips pointed the same way. Accordingly a string of ulihu looks as though the teeth were projecting at equal intervals from a string approximately 7 millimeters thick. This string weaving is dyed with red ochre; as a rule a small oliva shell is attached to its ends. This money is also made right in the regions of its use and seems to be quite current in these districts. It disappears as soon as you travel a few miles south from the north end of Bougainville--on the west as well as on the east coast. 436

The third type of money, on the other hand, which is called biruan, is much more widespread. These strings can be encountered from Buka to the Shortland Islands, where they are called pilasalle, and they are supposed to occur even much farther south. I do not know where they are made; no one seems to know anything about it in the north or in the south; both regions ascribe its origins to the other, but completely without basis. Biruan consists of rows of round shell disks of about 5 millimeters diameter and 1 to 1 1/2 millimeters thickness; the outer edge is rubbed smooth and polished, and the center has a hole bored through it. Most of the disks in a string of biruan are made of a mollusk ranging from white to white-gray in color; intermittently, however, there occur also reddish-brown disks of the same dimensions--singly or in groups--without any set arrangement. [171] ●

The farther south you go, the more frequently the reddish-brown disks appear in the biruan--probably because in the south you encounter a sort of money that is made exclusively of reddish-brown disks of spondylus and which has the same value as biruan. These red money strings are called mismis and probably stem from New Georgia. In the whole southern half of Bougainville as well as on the Shortland Islands this money stands in high esteem; on Choiseul and Ysabel it has a similar value. The strings of mismis are made just like those of biruan; but in order to attain a higher value, they insert at certain intervals of 15 to 20 centimeters alternately black and white disks for a distance of about 4 to 8 centimeters; the white disks are made of shell, and the black ones partially from the same material and partially from a certain black seed. 436 171

On the Shortland Islands a very crude sort of money, which is called 436
mäuli locally, is made for commerce with the inhabitants of the Crown 171
Prince Range; the mountain people call this money sputa. It consists of
a conus mussel, whose pointed end has simply been broken off and whose
upper end has been pierced so that it can be strung; the individual shells
are about 7 millimeters wide and 7 millimeters in diameter.

[23] In the mangrove regions of Buka and north Bougainville you fre-
quently find the shells of a bivalve, which are strung on a string by the
hundreds. These strings also are used as money for trade with the mountain [439]
people.

Although the previously described objects represent the value of 437
actual money, this still does not imply that the natives use only these ob-
jects as media of exchange in commerce among themselves and with their
neighbors. Rather, all their superfluous possessions are also used for this
same purpose. The agricultural mountain inhabitants swap fruit to the
coastal inhabitants for fish; armrings of tridachna and conus, as well as
woven armrings, are favorite barter objects when it is a matter of trading
for spears, bows and arrows; and scarcely an object can be mentioned that
does not represent a certain market value.

Household Equipment

The household equipment on the northwestern Solomon Islands is 323
practically the same from Buka to Shortland, even though local variations [171]
occur. Characteristic for this region is the knowledge of pottery-making.
Cooking pots of baked clay, but without a glaze, are to be found in every
house. The method of manufacture is the same everywhere: first the clay
is carefully kneaded and freed of all pebbles; then the potter (the making
of pots is exclusively the affair of the women) takes a fist-size piece into
her hands and, using a round stone and a wooden spatula, she forms the
bottom of the container; when this part is finished, strips of clay of about
10 to 20 centimeters in length and 2 to 3 centimeters in width are placed
on the edge of the finished base; with her left hand the potter holds the
round stone on the inner surface and fits the edges together with the
dampened spatula. In this way strip after strip is built up until the pot is
finished. In order to handle the pot more easily, they prepare a ring of

banana leaves into which they put the half-finished pot while the upper sides are being formed. When the pot is the right shape, then here and there--wherever the side walls seem to the maker to be too thin--little clay patches are added for strengthening. After the edge as well as the outside and the inside have been made as smooth as possible with dampened hands, a decoration in the shape of zigzag lines is frequently scratched on the edge. The manufacture of a middle-sized pot takes about an hour. The completed articles are dried for several days in the shade and then baked. This last procedure is very simple. Several pots are placed beside one another, and dry twigs and little pieces of wood are built up around them; then these are ignited and, for a certain time, new fuel is added; after about 8 hours the pot has been sufficiently baked and is ready for use. Pots of the most varied dimensions are to be found--between 15 and 30 centimeters in diameter, but rarely more. The form of the pots differs in the north and in the south of the region under consideration. In Buka and north Bougainville the form is conical, the sides are slightly rounded and the rim is not bent outwards. In Shortland and south Bougainville the shape is almost spherical and the opening is narrow with a rim that is flared out.

After acquaintance with the Europeans and the introduction of smoking tobacco the islanders successfully undertook the manufacture of pipes. Fifteen years ago you could frequently buy pipes there that were made of two pieces. The clay bowl had only a very short shaft, which was inserted into a thin stem, and the point of connection wrapped with bast fibers; today they have already made a certain sort of progress by preparing the bowl and the shaft out of a single piece and often decorate the bowl with engraved ornaments. The local product is now preferred to the European almost everywhere.

It is surprising that no one has come up with the idea of making clay drinking vessels or water containers. Coconut shells are used exclusively for these purposes. In the north they are superficially scraped on the outside with a stone; but in the south great care is often applied to their preparation. In Shortland I have seen specimens that were provided with a coating made from the pulverized fruit of Parinarium laurinum; into this shell [23] disks and beads were pressed and delicate ornaments were formed by this means. They had two shapes: the one was spherical and called fasi, and the other had a short neck, which was likewise decorated like the above container, and called kungkuku. Now these containers are becoming rather

415
rare: the empty beer bottles of the Europeans are easily available and ful- 171 ●
fill the same purpose.

Sharpened mollusk shells and bones were formerly in common use as 412
knives and scrapers, but today they are to be found only in the inland vil-
lages. On the coast and on the small islands the knife is now in general use.

In north Bougainville and Buka and here and there even in south 415
Bougainville one finds utensils (several in every village) which are used for
pulverizing various cooked tubers. The instrument consists of a conical
wooden block -- about 1 meter high -- whose point is inserted about 25
centimeters deep into the ground. The outer sides are sometimes decorated [531]
with bas relief carvings and painted; the upper rim projects slightly, and
at the bottom, about 25 centimeters from the tip, an embossed ring is
carved. The inverted base of the cone is 20 to 30 centimeters in diameter.
The inner part is hollowed out so that the whole thing resembles a large
wooden jug. Cooked taro and yam roots are put into this container and [252]
crushed to a thick mush with the stick that is about a meter and a half long;
in Buka this instrument is called maromo, and in Shortland tagoro.

Another household utensil that is characteristic for the north consists
of a circular board of about 50 to 75 centimeters diameter with a carved
embossed rim and two diametrically opposite handles. This plate is used
for pulverizing kanari nuts, which are crushed and pulverized on it with 412
a stone pestle. These pestles vary in size and weight; most of them are 415
15 to 20 centimeters in diameter on the slightly convex pounding surface.
The pestle itself is conical, and at the top it ends in a handle with a knob
or with a somewhat projecting edge. A few specimens are carefully
polished; in my collection there is an especially well-made specimen,
which has been polished completely smooth. The lower part of the pestle
is circular with a diameter of 9 1/2 centimeters; at a height of 12 1/2 centi-
meters the sides flare slightly upward; then there follows the 9 centimeter
long handle, which is decorated at the top with a conical knob that projects
on every side about 1 centimeter. In Buka the wooden plate is called
marara and the stone pestle kukono.

In the village of Toboroi on the east coast of Bougainville, after an 415
expedition into mountain villages in the year 1896, a feast was prepared 171
for me upon my return. It does not deserve mention for its culinary ac-
complishments, but because here I found a number of woven dishes and
baskets being used to serve the meal, which otherwise I had seen nowhere
in Bougainville. Three characteristic shapes were represented. First, round
dishes were used to pile cooked fish on. These dishes had a base of 40 to

60 centimeters in diameter, and around this was an obliquely projecting rim -- 10 to 15 centimeters wide -- which was pierced by 4 to 6 triangular holes. This sort of shallow dish was called dara. The second type of dish was conical in shape; the flat round base was about 15 centimeters in diameter and the mouth 60 centimeters. The sides were about 40 centimeters high, curved gently inward, and provided with four triangular holes beneath the rim. In the bottom there was small diamond-shaped opening of about 1 centimeter in length on each side, probably to drain the fluid that collected in the dish. Pots of this form were called doado; they were filled with boiled and baked taros and yams. The triangular holes along the rim serve as handles when it is being carried. The third type--the handle basket--has the name koko. There were two different types of these baskets: some had a flat oval base, and the erect rim was pressed together at the sides and provided with a woven handle about 4 centimeters wide and 20 centimeters high; others consisted of a round plate whose sides were curved upward and connected with a handle. These baskets were also used for serving various dishes. The method of production is the same as is found in New Guinea, New Pomerania, and the Admiralty Islands. A strip of a tough variety of liana about 3 to 4 millimeters in diameter is sewed to another with 1 to 1 1/2 millimeter wide fiber threads. The strips are connected in pairs by coiling the thread around them. [derart dass die Windungen aus der ersteren paarweise untereinander durch Umwicklung verbunden werden.] Otherwise people use the usual simple baskets woven of coconut leaves.

[25] Tools

We will begin with the stone axes, which can also be counted among the weapons. Nowadays they are no longer in general use. In the interior of Bougainville I found them being used as late as 1896, and here they will possibly continue in use for a short time; in Nissan, Buka, in the coastal regions of Bougainville and on the Shortland Islands they now belong to the implements of the past.

Several years ago my attention was directed to these axes by a few specimens that were brought from Nissan and, with respect to shape, deviated significantly from the normal shape of primitive ax blades. I am publishing my investigations in detail in order to show how, step by

step, I attained a clear picture of these interesting implements, and partially also in order to show that it is not always so very easy to obtain reliable information. 411 412

The specimens from Nissan had been shown to me when people were on the point of packing them up and sending them to Berlin. At the beginning of 1895 I came to Buka and made it my business to search for stone axes. At first nobody seemed to know about such objects, but finally--after urgent questioning and after I had sketched a Nissan stone ax from memory and offered a large reward--I succeeded in bringing an ax blade to light. Enticed by the reward I had offered the islanders now began searching, and I succeeded in collecting a number of Buka ax blades; they are exactly like the ax blades from Nissan, which probably originally came from Buka, since Nissan is a raised coral island and affords no material for the making of the blades. All of these specimens, however, I received without the original binding, so that at first I was in doubt as to what that might be. They are of varying size, and the following description refers to a particularly well-preserved specimen: the entire length amounts to 21.5 centimeters; both ends are sharpened, and each cutting edge is 7 centimeters wide; in the middle the ax is 9 centimeters wide and about 5 centimeters thick. Just above the middle a carved groove about 2 centimeters wide and 2 1/2 to 3 millimeters deep encircles the blade; on one side it branches into two grooves, which have between them a small ridge about two centimeters wide and projecting 4 millimeters. I suspected, to be sure, that the described groove had served to fasten it to a handle, but was unable to obtain reliable information. The younger people apparently knew nothing about the matter, and the older ones supplied insufficient descriptions that I did not understand. 171

A few days later I visited the northeast tip of Bougainville, where I displayed the blades obtained in Buka. At first I was told that there were no such stone blades here. On the following day, however, they brought me a few blades that were quite different in shape from the Buka blades. I will describe one of these blades here: the entire length amounts to 28 centimeters. One end has a sharp and somewhat curved cutting edge 5 1/2 centimeters wide, and the other end is 6 1/2 centimeters wide and is ground down to a rather dull edge. The greatest width of the blade through the middle amounts to 7 1/2 centimeters, and its thickness about 6 centimeters: in cross section it is oval. The sides of the blade slope somewhat at both cutting edges, whereby the entire blade, which is ground smooth, acquires a light and elegant appearance. In the course of the day I acquired

several such articles. In order to become familiar with the lay of the land, 411
I made a longer expedition on the following day into the interior, ac- 412
companied by a few natives whom I knew to be reliable. Two smaller 171
villages, whose inhabitants all ran away, had already been passed when we
arrived at a larger settlement, whose inhabitants -- probably relying on
their superior numbers -- displayed sufficient courage to remain at home.
A messenger sent out in advance had persuaded, if not the entire population,
at least the male contingent to wait for me. I was received by a rather
numerous force that was bristling with weapons, and who can describe my
joy when I saw in the hands of a man who seemed to fill the office of a
zûnun bura (chieftain) a real stone ax with its original binding. The rich
gift that I exchanged for this splendid article, was of no small influence
in initiating friendly relations. But despite the most enticing offers I did
not succeed in obtaining further specimens of this type. A description of 411
the highly singular binding of the bartered ax follows: about 14 centimeters 412
from the sharp cutting edge a 78 centimeter long piece [26] of rattan is 171
wound double around the blade. The two ends of the rattan are each 21 284
centimeters long and twisted together to form the handle that stands at
right angles to the blade. The middle part of the rattan, which is wound
double around the blade, is narrowed considerably and wrapped with a fine
rattan fiber; this wrapping extends about 4 centimeters down on the shaft
and is most carefully woven in order to attach the blade sufficiently well
to the handle. This was also apparently the purpose of two rattan strips
that -- emanating from the parts of the rattan loop which lay along the
two side edges of the ax -- crossed at the middle of the duller blade and
are wound around the ax blade several times above and below the handle.
The end of the handle is likewise firmly wrapped with rattan strips. The
stone ax itself is covered with a shining black varnish, which also com-
pletely covers the sharp cutting edge. The specimens I had obtained on
the coast had no such varnish, and I later succeeded in acquiring only one
more varnished blade without a handle. This varnish would immediately
be scraped off if the ax were used as an artisan's tool. I therefore assumed
that at least some of the stone axes are used as weapons, and subsequent
statements of the natives confirmed this.

After I had seen the above-described method of binding, the sig-
nificance of the groove on the Buka blades was absolutely clear. When I
later showed my Bougainville ax in Buka, I was informed by older people
that the binding of their blades had been done in almost exactly the same
way.

When I visited these regions again in 1896, I again obtained a number of the above-mentioned blades and even a few with handles, but none with such a complete handle as the described specimen, which I can justifiably number among the truly splendid items of my collection. This time the trip extended also to Shortland and south Bougainville, and I succeeded in obtaining some similar stone axes as well as some quite new ones. It was on the Shortland Islands first of all that I obtained a few ax blades of a type previously unknown to me; for the greater part they were badly damaged, but for perfect specimens I was sent to the coastal villages of south Bougainville, which formerly had supplied Shortland with its needs. I then succeeded in bartering there for a large number of blades and some few specimens with the original handles. Specimens with handles seem already to be rather rare. The blades differ significantly in length: I obtained ones from 8 to 34 centimeters in length. I will describe one of the large ones in detail: the entire length amounts to 34 centimeters: the sharpened edge is 5 1/2 centimeters wide and semicircular; the side which is turned outward when it is fastened is rather more convex than the surface turned toward the shaft. The blade tapers from the edge toward the back -- at first inconspicuously, but then more and more so until it ends in a conical point; it is polished very smooth. It is fastened to the wooden shaft, which is bent like a knee, by means of a 5 to 6 centimeter wide ring of woven rattan strips: this is done in such a way that the blade is wedged more and more firmly against the shaft at every blow. The people of the coast, who get these blades from the inhabitants of the Crown Prince Range, have imitated them in tridachna shell, but these imitations do not seem to be particularly common, and I obtained only a few specimens.

In the village of Toboroi on the east side of Bougainville the coastal inhabitants brought me into contact with natives who live in the vicinity of the Guinot Mountain. From these people also I enriched my collection to the extent of two ax blades, which deviate somewhat from the previously described ones. I will give a description of the larger of the two blades: the entire length amounts to 19 centimeters; the cutting edge is 9 1/2 centimeters wide and rather markedly curved; from the cutting edge the ax runs almost to a point; at the upper end, which is about 1 3/4 centimeters wide, there is a notch about 3 millimeters deep. When I asked the natives about the method of fastening it, it was explained that the handle had originally consisted of rattan that was wrapped around the blade and held fast

by other strips of rattan laid over the notch. It was not difficult to demonstrate the method with a piece of rattan. It is identical with the binding that I described from the Emperor Range. It seems accordingly that this method of fastening the ax blades is typical for middle Bougainville, north Bougainville, Buka and Nissan. 411 412 171 ●

[27] We find a similar mode of fastening the ax blades again in the French Islands, on Cape Villaumez and at the south cape of New Pomerania, but a description of these objects is outside the realm of my present purposes.

I believe that in the preceding material I have given an exhaustive description of all stone ax blades occurring in the northwestern Solomon Islands; in any case I nowhere succeeded--despite the most careful inquiry--in finding other types. In Bougainville the demand for iron axes is especially great, and in a few years stone axes will have fallen completely into disuse there; the chance that led to me a few stone blades in their original condition may not be so favorable to later travelers. This is my excuse for the somewhat longwinded explanation of how I succeeded in clarifying this highly interesting method of binding, which deviates so radically from all other types.

Although stone axes unquestionably were used also as weapons in hand-to-hand combat--and still are in the interior of Bougainville--it is beyond doubt that they served primarily as artisan's tools. In this capacity they have been replaced for the most part by iron tools today--even in the inland villages, which maintain active relations with the coastal inhabitants and procure their requirements there.

On the small islands at the northwest end of Bougainville I saw numerous rows of cyprina shells which are found in the mangrove swamps. They serve as a medium of exchange in commerce with the mountain people. The latter use them as cutting and scraping instruments when they are making arrows, spears, bows, etc. In certain spots I have seen sharpened boar's teeth used as scrapers in the manufacture of wooden objects. Special types of coral serve as rasps for planing wooden boards. Sharpened oyster shells, which formerly were used as knives, have now been almost completely replaced by knives. 412 825 [139]

Whetstones of hard dark stone, which were formerly used for sharpening the stone blades, can be found everywhere; smaller whetstones made of a brown fine-grained stone--about the size of a hand--serve for sharpening smaller objects like fishhooks, etc.; today they are used for whetting knives and ax blades. 412

In its entire length this spear measures approximately 340 centimeters, of which about 60 centimeters comprise the ornamented tip. The body of the spear is made of a hard palm wood and at the thickest point is about 2 1/2 centimeters in diameter; the end opposite the point tapers gradually and is about .5 centimeters in diameter at the end. The inland inhabitants call this spear kugu, and the Shortland Islanders, who mediate its export, potulu. The various parts of the point have their own names. First, the outermost tip -- about 1 1/2 centimeters long -- is carefully bound with yellow bast. Then there are 6 rows of barbs, which are arranged in groups of four in such a way that the ones closest to the extreme tip are the shortest. This last group of the six rows of barbs is called frut (Shortland: kukuluna). Then there follow two rows of four barbs each, which are substantially longer than the barbs of the frut. These two rows are called itina and itina takanne, and the individual barbs are named masfnke and mãmongke; the barbs of the row towards the tip (masfnke) are about 6 centimeters long and those of the following row (mãmongke) about 8 centimeters. There now follows a row of four approximately 10 centimeter long barbs, which are called puugu (Shortland: kumaisi). Between the four puugu there stand four rows, each having five short barbs--about .5 centimeters long--called sisfka; they are fastened to the spear shaft by means of fine bast threads and coated with a white clay found in the mountains and called moruvassi (Shortland: fioi). This just-described section comprises the actual tip of the spear. The barbs are made from the wingbones of the flying dog (Pteropus, "bat"); the outer end is sharply pointed, and the inner end is sunk into the spear shaft and fastened here with the pulverized nut of Parinarium laurinum, which here is called osfio. A brown earth, ugura, and a white earth moruvassi are used to decorate the shaft as well as the barbs. This barbed part of the spear is followed by an ornamented section, which can never be completely missing even if it occasionally is not completely executed. This ornamented section consists of four divisions: first, the last row of barbs is followed by a carefully executed wrapping of the shaft with red and yellow plant fibers of about one millimeter in width. The yellow ones are called rutta (Shortland: lãtili) and the red ones rakagassi (Shortland: pãunãga); they are the external covering or skin of a type of rush that grows in the interior. By means of various treatments, it assumes these colors. This woven work forms a row of alternately red and yellow zigzag lines, which run around the spear

shaft. The weaving itself is called tuu (Shortland: nfnamu). This woven work is followed by a carving that goes all around the shaft and represents two human figures. This part is called kägoi (Shortland: käpoina) and may never be missing on a complete spear; the same is true for the knob that follows it: uiru (Shortland: zimpu putuna). The uiru is a knob of 3 1/2 centimeters in diameter made of firmly pressed red and yellowish leaf fibers. The yellow fibers form an approximately 3 millimeter wide center ring, which is bounded on both sides by a hemisphere made of red fibers; the yellow ring is called zigäre. This knob, in turn, is followed by a decoration of red and yellow weaving made of the same material as the previously described woven ornament--only the zigzag lines do not run around the spear shaft, but along it. Occasionally the whole remaining spear shaft is covered with this red and yellow braidwork, but this sort of spear seems to be rather rare, and I have seen only one. The carved ornament, kägoi, and the sphere that follows it, uiru, have a special significance, although I am not in a position to explain it fully. According to the information I received kägoi seems to be a symbol of the lethal power inherent in the spear: "it sees the enemy," an old native told me; and the deceased Gorai, in his primitive English, gave me the explanation: "he all the same eye," that is, it is like the eye. He designated the head as "house belong käpoina," that is, the house or the domicile of the käpoina or the kägoi. I wish to observe here that the same ornament not infrequently also occurs on arrow shafts; I do not recall ever having seen it in other connections. On the arrow shafts it is not always completely executed; sometimes only the face is sketchily hinted at, but one cannot fail to recognize it as one and the same ornament.

[29] Just as the described spears diffuse far to the south by way of trade, so they also come to the north, and not infrequently you find them in Buka, where indeed they are imitated here and there without attaining, to be sure, the artistic skill of the mountain inhabitants of Bougainville. On the other hand, I never found them among the numerous inhabitants that I saw from the interior of northern Bougainville. The forms current here are by far more varied, although I cannot say that in carefulness of execution they exceed those from south Bougainville. But before I say anything more specific about these spears, it will be of interest to find out what articles the inland inhabitants of south Bougainville receive to

411 171 439

exchange for their products. The principal medium of exchange consists of white shell bracelets made of tridacna (giant mollusk). These very carefully made rings--called gorau in Shortland--are made in Rubiana and New Georgia and come from there to Shortland on the trade routes. Although these rings have recently been rather closely imitated in Europe in porcelain-paste [Porzellanmasse] and have been circulated in trade, these imitations still do not have anywhere near the value of the original arm rings. A real tridacha bracelet is just as valuable as a spear, yet four rings made in Europe scarcely suffice for the same purpose. It is astonishing how great the demand is for such spears. Old Gorai, who to a certain extent had a monopoly on this trade, showed me on the occasion of a visit a number of bundles of spears, which could not have contained less than two thousand items. Likewise, numerous bundles of tridacna bracelets proved that he intended to make new purchases.

411 171

The form of the spear in south Bougainville is constant. In north Bougainville it is highly irregular. At the northeast end I came into contact with numerous natives from the interior. Also I have had opportunity to visit them in their mountain villages, but I have never been able to find a single spear form that is typical for this region. The various spear forms can be divided into four main groups:

Group I: smooth spears without barbs.

Group II: spears with barbs that are carved out of the body of the spear.

Group III: spears with inserted barbs made of a different material from the spear shaft.

Group IV: multi-pronged spears.

In all of these the ornamentation by means of painting, carving, and the attachment of braid work is extremely varied and seems to be adapted to the taste of the individual artisan. The actual shaft of the north Bougainville spears is frequently square and wrapped its entire length with pandanus leaves. The material for the fabrication of spears is generally the same as in south Bougainville, but in addition other materials are also used, such as hard wood species for barbs, likewise fish bones, pieces from the beak of the rhinoceros bird, etc. Nowhere in north Bougainville do we find braidwork as carefully executed as in the south; frequently the wrapping of the shaft with yellow fiber material (ûare in north Bougainville and ûale in Buka) done

in the same fashion as on the south Bougainville spears replaces in these areas the braiding. The red-dyed fiber material that is used in the south is not used for the decoration of spears in the north--at least I do not recall a single case; however, this red fiber material is known there, for it is used in making bracelets and belts.

b) Arrows

After the spear come the bow and arrow as the principal weapons of the inhabitants of the northwestern Solomon Islands. The spears are always present in significantly fewer numbers. If a person leaves his village, whether by land or by water, bows and arrows are always his inseparable companions, and at the slightest suspicious noise the right hand holds an arrow ready to be placed on the bow string.

We will begin with a discussion of the arrows. There are large and extensive districts that are not familiar with their production--a fact that I mentioned above (page 2). On Buka, for example, no arrows are made, and likewise they are not made in a large part of the coastal districts of Bougainville nor on the islands of the Bougainville Strait. The natives of these regions obtain their requirements from the mountain villages of Bougainville--not only the elaborate arrows with the variously arranged barbs, but also the arrows with the entirely smooth point. To be sure, the arrow industry is also encountered [30] on the island of Nissan, about 30 nautical miles northwest of Buka, but from here there is only a small export to Buka. I assume that it was the isolated position of the Nissan group that compelled the local inhabitants, who differ in no way from the Buka people, to make their own arrows, because the importation from Buka, with which Nissan maintains communications by boat, did not suffice to cover the need. The Nissan arrows do not differ essentially from the arrows of Bougainville, and the Buka people who go to Nissan today still take along Bougainville arrows.

. The description of the arrows is not easy because the forms are so extremely varied. A systematic division will be of use here likewise. Since in the course of the years I have not only had several thousand arrows in my hands, but also had the opportunity to observe countless quantities of this type of weapon on the spot, I believe that the following division into various groups will comprise all types:

411

I. Arrows with smooth tips:
   a) with a round tip;
   b) with a square tip.

II. Arrows whose tips are equipped with barbs:
   a) with barbs that are carved out of the tip itself;
   b) with barbs that are made of a different material from the tip, (that is, bones, fish bones, thorns, etc.) and are artificially connected with the latter.

III. Arrows with several points, used for catching fish.

The arrow consists of the tip and the shaft. The tip varies in length from 30 to 50 centimeters. It is always inserted three to four centimeters into the shaft and bound firmly to it with a fine bast thread; for greater strength the joint is coated with the pulverized fruit of parinarium laurinum. [824]

There are no poison arrows in the Solomon Islands although this assertion is constantly repeated. An arrow equipped with barbs is in itself a sufficiently dangerous weapon without needing to be poisonous in addition. Deep wounds inflicted by such arrows are highly dangerous because it is almost impossible to remove the arrow without leaving fragments behind. If the wound is in a fleshy part of the body, it is preferable to shove the arrow tip entirely through the wound; but if the arrow is in the trunk of the body--say in the chest or stomach cavity--then the wound is regarded as deadly from the very outset. The smooth arrows, although dangerous enough in themselves, do not cause such ghastly wounds, and these generally heal rapidly unless more sensitive areas have been damaged. The yellow fiber material with which the arrow tip is wrapped at its extreme sharp end, is not poisonous and serves solely to protect the point that otherwise would easily be damaged.

The shaft, on the average, is 1 meter long and sometimes even a little more. At the lower end it is almost always wrapped with fine bast fibers and smeared with the pulverized nut of parinarium in order to prevent the shaft from splitting. The extreme lower end is notched as a rule; the notch is produced simply by making an oblique cut across the bottom; when the arrow is placed on the bowstring, the soft pith in the inside of the shaft gives without resistance. [824]

In Buka and north Bougainville the arrow point is called pill, in the Crown Prince Range and in Shortland mānou and (if equipped with 411

barbs) uarâu; the shaft is called unga and farther south kungkung. [171] 411

In most cases one sees on the arrow shaft an engraved black design above the individual knots of the cane. In Buka this design is called korakoroto. For a long time I regarded it as simply an ornament, but in recent years I have come to the conclusion that the engraved design is to be considered a sort of trademark whereby the maker designates his ware. To be sure, I did not succeed in ascertaining beyond a doubt whether the design is supposed to represent the name of the maker or the name of the district where the arrow was made. But this much is certain: in Carola Harbor (Buka) I [31] was told precisely the place of origin of arrows I had acquired by trade on the north coast of Bougainville; and, upon asking how they were able to specify the origin so precisely, I received the reply that the design on the knots of the arrow shaft was the korokoroto of this or that place, whereby the places were mentioned where I had acquired the arrows. 411 422

c) Bows

The bow is made from the outer hard wood of a type of palm; as a rule it is about 2 meters long, about 4 centimeters wide in the middle, and gradually tapers toward the ends. The outer side is flat and almost always dyed dark-brown to black. The side facing the string is convex and often polished to a high gloss; along the middle there runs a single or double black line. When the bow is being used, this serves the marksman as a sight, since the bowstring and this line must always be in a certain relation to each other when the arrow is being released. The best bows come from the interior of Bougainville and are highly coveted in the coastal regions as well as in Buka. The bowstring is twisted out of strong plant fibers and frequently wrapped with the often mentioned yellow fiber material--partially to prevent the string from raveling and partially also as an ornament. The string is permanently attached to one end of the bow, and the other end is easily detachable so that the bow can be strung more tautly or more loosely at will. If the string is to be adjusted, the bowman holds the bow upright before him holding the lower end with the big toe of his left foot, and the other end with his left hand. With this he bends the bow gently and 411

smaller, basketlike, square container is attached above this platform. Both are used for storing all sorts of things: fish, implements, baskets of food, etc. The ornamentation of these boats is not very careful; some have, on the prow as well as the stern, individual geometrical figures painted black and red, others a similarly painted figure of a bird, and still others the grotesque human figure executed in bas relief, which we find so often in the northwestern Solomon Islands and which is characteristic for this region. By far the greatest number of dugouts have no ornamentation at all. They are to be found in Nissan, on the Carteret Islands, in Buka and on the coast of Bougainville--especially in the north and in the east--as well as on the islands of the Bougainville Strait. Recently they have begun making sails of cotton material; yet older islanders assured me repeatedly that this was an innovation that was not known in their youth. In a few places, for example Carola Harbor and the Shortland Islands, I was able to date the first appearance of sails. In the former place sails of cotton material were first introduced in 1890; in the Shortland Islands no one had sails in the year 1885, but in the year 1888 they were quite common. In their cut these sails imitate a European spar boat sail [Spriet-Bootsegel] From this it can probably be concluded that the use of sails is an innovation of most recent times and a simple imitation of European sails.

By far the greatest care is expended on the construction of the large boats built of boards. Guppy gives an exhaustive description of the ones from the southeastern Solomon Islands and the Shortland Islands. The big boats in Nissan, Buka, and northern Bougainville differ slightly in form from those in the Shortland Islands, although the arrangement of the boards is exactly the same as Guppy describes. The individual boards are first split with an ax from the felled trunk and planed as carefully as possible; in order [33] to make the not very hard wood more resistant, they char the sides slightly. First two long boards are attached together and form the bottom of the boat so that the joint follows the keel line. The side boards are likewise attached to these keel planks; three or four rows, and more rarely five, suffice to build up the sides. The prow and stern are constructed high and pointed from two planks which meet at a very acute angle. In the Shortland Islands as a rule they are much longer and almost vertical, and in the north more curved, but everywhere ornamented.

396
531
171

The ornamentation in Buka is a double one: it consists either of a row of the grotesque heads and human figures that are characteristic for this region in varying arrangements, or it is a row of reversed vees. All ornaments are executed in bas relief and painted black, red and white. In the Shortland Islands the very high prow is frequently decorated with a carved human figure; according to the statements of natives this is a personification of the tutelary deity who grants [776] auspicious sea voyages and wards off evil spirits. In Buka the prow and stern are ornamented with an approximately 40 centimeter wide fringe, which extends from the tip of the prow to the waterline. This fringe (kehakehala) consists of red-dyed dried leaf strips of a species of palm.

The joints are tightened by smearing them with the pulverized [824] nut of parinarium laurinum. In order to give the light shell greater 396 resistance and durability, wooden frames are set into the boat, which press firmly against the sides and are fastened to these at the edge. These frames (in Buka called mapou) are cut from a single piece and, corresponding to the inside shape of the boat, are almost semicircular. The two upper ends of the semicircle are connected by a straight piece of wood. From the middle of this two or three props lead to the semicircle, which is thereby given greater rigidity. Also the thwarts for the rowers serve this purpose; they are notched underneath in such a way that the notches project beyond the edges of the boat on both sides and prevent them from bending in or out. These boats vary greatly in size; there are many that comfortably carry 40 adults and in addition a considerable cargo. In the middle of the large chieftains' boats a small platform is built on which the owner stands, with bow and arrow in hand.

The rowers sit together in pairs on the thwarts and propell the 502 boat with light oars that are different in the north and the south. In 171 the Shortland Islands the oar (fase) has a wider and shorter blade than in Buka; at the upper end the handle is provided with a small crook that projects at a right angle and gives the hand a comfortable means of grasping it powerfully. These oars are very well planed, but other- 501 wise unornamented. In Buka the oar (hose) is equipped with a long, 171 pointed, lancet-shaped blade and this is frequently decorated in bas relief--usually with the characteristic grotesque head or human figure, sometimes with a bird or fish, and sometimes also with round figures or zigzag lines; here the handle is never provided with a crook. I would like to mention that this characteristic Buka oar is still rather common nowadays, but it is cited completely erroneously in handbooks

as well as in museums as stemming from New Mecklenburg (New Ireland). I find this statement first in the work by Schmeltz and Krause on the Godeffroy Museum (which first appeared in 1881), and although Schmeltz subsequently corrected this statement, it has nevertheless--like many another mistake--been widely circulated. The oars depicted by Schmeltz and Krause are quite characteristic for the extreme northwest of the Solomon Islands; nowhere else does one find the ornamentation represented on the oar blades, which one with justification can designate as the coat of arms of Buka and the neighboring tribes. The figure bears the name kokora.

The rowing is done at various tempos, but the oars are always placed in the water simultaneously, whether the tempo is slow or rapid. The faster the tempo, the deeper the blade of the oar is dipped and the farther the trunk of the body is bent forward; then the light boat shoots across the waves with great velocity and in an hour quite often covers ten nautical miles. A few years ago on the east coast of Buka I saw a boat that was manned by 36 rowers maintain this velocity for almost two hours; the chieftain who was standing up in the boat spurred his men on with loud cries. On the high seas, the slender vessel literally flew from one wave to the next; occasionally, when it was crossing a high wave, over one-third of the long body was hovering above the water. With a watch in my hand I [34] observed the rapidity of the oar strokes for a time and found that it was never less than 35 strokes per minute, but from time to time increased up to 60 per minute. At a normal and medium tempo the rowing is accompanied as a rule by a peculiar howling singing; at a rapid and the most rapid tempo, however, all is silent, and at most one hears from time to time the encouraging cry of the chieftain. Even the women know how to handle the oars well; they take care of the market traffic, and therefore one rather frequently sees large boats occupied only by women (with at most an old man at the rudder), who are going from the islands to the opposite mainland in order to trade fish etc. for taro and other foodstuffs.

Fishing

Fishing is a main occupation on the islands as well as on the coasts. In his book Guppy gives an exhaustive description of the fishing methods current in the Shortland Islands. They are also in use further north. As far as nets are concerned, I observed seines of great

On north Bougainville I repeatedly observed a multi-pronged arrow; 226
the points attached to the arrowshaft, which were arranged after the 227
fashion of the well-known fishing spears, consisted of 4 to 6 very
sharp and pointed bamboo splinters. The owners of these arrows
were inhabitants of the interior; I assume that the arrow is used
principally in the rivers and water courses in the interior since I never
observed it among the coastal inhabitants.

North Bougainville and Buka have one fishing method that is not [171]
found in the south: namely, fishing by means of artificial weir
baskets. These weir baskets (in Buka: fwou) are made from the leaf
ribs of the coconut palm; they are 1 to 1 1/2 meters high and conical
in shape; the lower circular opening measures up to [35] one meter
in diameter. The leaf ribs lie close together and are firmly attached
at intervals of 5 to 10 centimeters; only the upper ends have no con-
nection for a length of 15 to 25 centimeters. When using it, one in-
serts into the upper end a little ring of tough wood (in Buka: fapirik).
This ring is fastened to a straight stick about 25 to 30 centimeters long by
means of four thinner rods which run from its edge to the middle. The
ring is used to make the weir basket taut; the projecting ends at the
top of the basket are attached to the central rod by means of a string,
and this keeps the entire implement taut. This weir basket is often
used in shallow water; the fisherman holds the upper and pointed end
in his hand and drops the open lower end over the fish to be caught.

In the narrow drains of the mangrove swamps the fish are caught
by means of fish dams; these are made in the following way: between
and on sticks which, at a distance of about 1 meter from each other,
are stuck in the ground diagonally across the course of the water, a
wicker work of coconut leaves is fastened, so that when the water
level falls the fish are blocked off from the sea.

It goes without saying that all the fish caught in the sea are also 262
used as food. Sea cucumbers, cuttlefish, snails and mollusks of
every description find their way into the cooking pot. The native [825]
can exactly distinguish the poisonous fish--and their number is not
slight--from the unharmful ones. Sharks and dolphins are considered
delicacies, but there is no special catching apparatus for them; spear
and arrow are the main weapons used. As a rule they sneak up on 225
tortoises on the small islands and sandbanks when the animals visit
them to lay their eggs; many a tortoise who is resting on the surface
of the sea is also killed by spear.

3: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1932
ON6 Buka ON6
Petats
Kurtatchi

539 773 into birds, she turned herself into a *kumina* (white ant) and was not a woman any more, and her children were birds.

The story is finished.

[115] This story is here given as told to me by Sonokum, a leading man of the village of Kohiso in the hill district of central Buka. It is the most detailed of several variants obtained by me, but it does not state, as do some of the others, that the people are descended from the two sons of the old woman. It is the only one which gives the transformation of the boys into birds. The [616] two divisions of the Buka people are called Manu (Eagle) and Kekeleo (Fowl), but no statement was made connecting these with the birds of the story.

539 The people of Nissan, an island between Buka and New Ire- ● 171 land, say that the story originally belonged to them, and that 439 the identical tree in which the old woman hid is still to be seen 773 on the island, and also the bones of Monohan. They add that as the bones lay on the ground a little snake ate some of them, and he turned into a pig, and was the origin of all the pigs on Nissan, from whence they were sent to all the other islands. Nissan is famous for its pigs, and the natives of Buka go over in canoes—little short of a hundred miles of open and stormy sea—to buy them.

539 In a version from Petats, the monster who ravaged the land 773 is represented as a very large and fierce pig called Burtcheni. 171 This is so also in a version from the neighbouring island of Pororan, given to me by Mr. Gordon Thomas. As told on Bougainville, the place of the pig is taken by a being described as an *urar* (a word usually meaning the spirit of a dead person) called Towaniwa in the version current at Kurtatchi (where it is spoken of as female), and Burau in that from Ruri, a neighbouring village speaking a different dialect. In both of these versions the two sons are called Mator (Matan), *i.e.* Right-handed, and Kiruk (Keruka), *i.e.* Left-handed. Unfortunately I omitted to ascertain the meaning of the names Tchikenau and Bakiano in the Kohiso version.

In the Kurtatchi version, after the monster is killed, the old woman takes out his bladder and sets it adrift in the sea, telling

3: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1932
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

it to go to Tchiraun (Green Island). On its arrival there it is recognised as the bladder of Towaniwa, and the people put to sea to find out who killed her. In the Ruri version it is the blood of the ogre that is so used. This feature is noteworthy in view of the parallels cited below.

Variants of this story, often accompanied by a cycle of other narratives dealing with various exploits of the two brothers, appear to be wide-spread throughout the Melanesian area, from New Guinea to the New Hebrides. The following are known to me, doubtless there are others. (The numbers refer to the references given with the map.)

1. From the Southern Massim, Wamira, Goodenough Bay, New Guinea. Here there is only one son, who kills an enormous pig before whom all the people except his mother had fled. Some bristles from his body are put on a raft and sent out as a token that the pig is dead, on seeing which all the people return.

2. From the D'Entrecasteaux Islands. Here the brothers are named Tomweinagona (elder son) and Kwamanea (younger son). The monster is represented as a white osprey. The boys take out its heart and give it to the people to eat, telling them that it came from the bird that had devoured their fathers.

3. From the Trobriands (Tudava). Here again there is only one son, who kills the "dreadful ogre" Dokonikan, and subsequently takes his head hidden in a taro pudding, to his mother's brother who had deserted his mother through fear of the ogre. This version differs in several respects from the others, but the resemblances seem sufficient to justify its inclusion in the present list.

4. From the Gazelle Peninsula, New Britain. Here the old woman, left behind when the rest of the people flee before the ravages of a wild pig, gives herself a wound first in her right arm, and then in her left. From the blood of her right arm arose the right-handed brother, To Kabinana, from the blood of her left arm, the left-handed brother To Karvuvu. To Kabinana is represented as the wise brother who makes plans, which the foolish brother, To Karvuvu, frustrates by his stupidity. No such distinction is indicated in the variants obtained by me.

9. From Tanna, Southern New Hebrides. Here the monster

3: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1932
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

539 773 ●171 is called Semsem, and is described as a " devil " who devoured all the people of Tanna except one old woman. Her twin sons, who afterwards destroyed Semsem, were conceived of a stone which she ate.

539 773 171 114 *Note.*—The references here given are confined to works which contain a recognisable variant of the " Two Brothers " story as told on the island of Buka. The wider issue of the " cult of the Brethren " throughout Oceania is dealt with in detail by Dr. Haddon in the forthcoming final volume of his Report on the Torres Straits Expedition. I am much indebted to Dr. Haddon for permitting me to become acquainted with his discussion of the subject in MS., and also for his kindness in reading the MS. of the present paper. In connection with the story as here given he makes the following comment (in a letter from which I quote with his permission): " The relation between the " two brothers " and the Oceanic Brethren (Qat-Tangaloa, etc.) is obscure, though doubtless there is some connection. It seems evident that some syncretism has taken place. We have to take into account the original Papuan stratum in Melanesia and various successive waves of culture from Indonesia, of which the betel users were probably one of the last spreads. I do not see how we can with our present knowledge differentiate between the tales and cults of these various layers."

Class II. Culture Origin Stories.

538 773 Under this heading I have included stories purporting to explain certain practices or customs of the people. Usually, though not always, the originators of these are nameless, differing in this respect from the culture heroes of Class I. Among my collection are stories illustrating the origin of fire, of canoe-making, of eating pig, of various musical instruments, and many others. The following will serve to illustrate this category.

How People Learnt to Eat Human Flesh.

539 773 Tchinaleke sent away her son-in-law and his wife, she said: " You go and work in the taro garden, I will look after

3: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1932
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi
Petats

was angry about the work. He came back to the village, he asked her: "What is the matter with you, woman? Are you sick, that you are so lazy about going to the taro garden? The taro stalks have all gone bad, there is no woman to plant them." 539 821

Night came, the man slept. The woman went at night, she took the moon and put it on the root of a tree. The moon shone. The woman worked, she planted the taro stalks. She finished planting them all. She weeded the taro. She went back. She took the moon and covered it up with leaves, and hid it in the bush. She pretended to go to sleep.

Dawn came again. The man said to her: "You and I will go to the taro garden." She idled again, she pretended to be sick. The man went alone. He went to look for the taro stalks. He saw the taro stalks that the woman had planted. He went back, he asked his wife: "Who has planted our taro stalks?" The woman said: "Oh, I don't know, I am sick."

Then she went again, and the man went quietly behind her. The woman took the moon again and put it on the root of a tree. The man came up quietly and saw it, he saw the woman working by the light of the moon. He came up and held her fast: "You and I are glad about the moon, our thing, belonging to us two, our good thing, don't tell anybody." Then the woman was angry, she took a knife and cut the moon in pieces. She threw it away, it went up on top into the sky. "You go, moon, by and bye you be cold at night up there. These pieces are stars, this piece is the sun by day, by and bye it will be hot and will make the bush dry."

[115]

This version was given to me by Pinari's son, Wasei, who said he learnt it from his father. I have also a version, from Petats, written down in the Petats dialect by Jilohin, from his father, Gerau, and another, slightly different, from Kohiso, hill village of Buka. None of the other versions mentions the stars or the 539 821 171

3: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1932
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

539 sun, and there is no other story connected with the sun in my
821 collection. Mr. A. M. Hocart tells me, in conversation, that
171 stories connected with the sun are rare in his experience of Melanesia. Thurnwald[6] offers the following explanation: "Man beschäftigt sich, wie diese Sagen zeigen, sehr viel mit dem Mond, den man fürchtet, der sich immer *verändert*, aber verhältnismässig nur sehr wenig mit der durch ihr Licht *sichernd* wirkenden Sonne."

Class. IV. Real-Life Stories.

538 The tales in this class are sometimes about certain individuals, but more often about men, women and children who remain nameless. They consist of incidents of everyday life, hunting, fishing and domestic scenes, such as might happen to any native at any time. Perhaps we might compare them to that class of reading matter among ourselves known as "magazine stories". They are full of details the understanding of which requires a somewhat intimate knowledge of native customs and conditions, but with the appropriate explanations they have much light to throw upon the reactions of the natives to certain situations, their relations with each other, and many other aspects of their lives. Some of these tales are obviously
[522] intended to be comic, a favourite subject being the trickster who is himself tricked. The following brief tale will serve as well as any other to illustrate this class which is a very large one.

Revenge for a Poor Feast.

Told by Koawu, old man of Kurtatchi.

539 The people went fishing, they took nets, they took nets to catch *bari* (a small reef fish.) They went fishing on the reef, and one man caught one *bari*. Then they sent a message to another village to come and eat, and all the people came, they came to eat, they all looked about in

[6] R. Thurnwald, *Forschungen auf den Salomo-Inseln und dem Bismarck Archipel*, vol. i., p. 336.

3: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1932
ON6 Buka ON6
Petats

539 over Bas, and scalded his skin, so that it came up in blisters. That is why the iguana has a rough skin like a crocodile. Bas wriggled and wriggled, and at last he broke the rope and ran away into the bush.

Ever since then, every time an iguana finds the bush fowl's eggs he eats them, and if he finds little chickens he eats them too, but he can't catch the fowls themselves because they fly up into the trees and get away from him.

[115] 539 171 The version was given to me in Pidgin English by Jiapin, a young man of Petats. I have another, rather less detailed, from Sakwan of Pororan, and others from Kurtatchi.

A similar incident is given by Seligman in his story of "The Lizard and the Bird" (*Melanesians of British New Guinea*, p. 411) from the Southern Massim, Wamira, Goodenough Bay. In this case the story ends by the bird eating the lizard, and nothing is said about the lizard's skin.

Class VI. Animal Association Stories.

538 825 With reference to the human behaviour of the animals in stories of the preceding class, it seems pretty clear that the natives look on it in much the same light as we regard, let us say, the behaviour of "The Three Bears". But there is a variety of animal stories behind which lies much more than this. In addition to their clan totems, these natives recognise a personal association with certain creatures, by means of which some, but by no means all, persons exercise a measure of control over the creature thus connected with them, and may command it to do their bidding, or call upon it to refrain from injuring them or their friends. The conception is similar, I think, to that described by Ivens [1] as existing in the S.E. Solomons between a man and his "familiar". To go into this subject in detail would take us beyond the bounds of folk-lore, but the stories which

[1] W. G. Ivens, *Melanesians of the South-East Solomon Islands*, (London, 1927), pp. 238 ff.

3: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1932
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

The same motif is given by Thurnwald from Buin (p. 389) where 539 [171] the woman becomes a dugong.

Class VIII. Stories about the Spirits of the Dead.

The term used in all the stories included in this class is 538 *mate* in the Petats dialect and *urar* in the Kurtatchi dialect. 775 These words have the very definite meaning of the spirits of dead persons, which, according to the native belief, can return, can interfere in the affairs of living people, generally for evil, and can, if they so desire, make themselves visible to men, either in the guise of human beings or as spirits, recognisable as such by certain peculiarities of person, *e.g.* "their eyes are light." The belief in these spirits is very real and profound, and the fear of them is a predominating influence in every native's life. Stories involving them were told and listened to with much more than the usual seriousness, and were clearly not looked upon as mere flights of the imagination. The full discussion of this question belongs to a chapter on social anthropology rather than to a presentation of folk-tales, and I must content myself in the present paper with giving one example in illustration of this category. I have used the native term *urar* in order to steer clear of the ambiguity involved in the word "spirit."

The orphan looks for his mother.

(There was) a little child, his mother died. The child was 539 very small, he could just walk. The men went to bury his mother, the child stayed behind. Then he followed the men who were carrying his mother. He went, he went, he went, he went, he came to the place belonging to the *urar*. He stopped at the edge of the water, he sat down. He saw a long stretch of sand, it was quite clear. He made a hole in the sand, big enough for himself. He went inside, he hid in the hole. He took some leaves, the leaves of the wild banana that grows in the bush, and covered up his head in

5: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930)1935
ON6 Buka ON6

picks up rapidly when the lesions have healed. Its appearance is expected and marks the end of the period of taboo on cohabitation following childbirth. Various methods of treatment are in use. The young leaves of *burustē* (*Eranthemum* sp.) are rubbed over the child's skin; they must afterwards be thrown away. Scrapings from the bark from the trunk of *katsian*, a wild species of areca-palm, are boiled with scraped coconut meat and given to the child to eat. A bundle of leaves of *kort* (*Terminalia catappa*, the Indian almond) is heated in the embers and laid on the sores. [These leaves contain tannin. In India "the juice of young leaves is employed to prepare an ointment for scabies, leprosy and other cutaneous diseases" (Nāḍkarṇi, p. 843).]

I saw no adult with the ordinary form of yaws, but adults frequently suffer from sores on the sole of the foot (*tōkapits*), which correspond to the descriptions given in medical treatises of "crab-yaws," a secondary lesion. They cause great pain on walking. One man would sometimes hobble round the village howling. He used to collect the hard dry mud from the nest of a species of ant, crumble it into half a coconut shell, add some smouldering embers, and blow on it till it smoked. Then he covered it up with the upper half of the coconut shell, in which one of the "eyes" had been pierced, so that the smoke from the smouldering mixture came out of the hole. He held his foot in the smoke as long as he could bear it and said that it gave him considerable relief. Another method of treatment is to soak the flowers of *bubuwiar* (a variety of nettle, *Fleurya interrupta*) in sea water, add powdered lime, and rub this mixture into the sore.

Tropical ringworm (*Tinia imbricata*, native name *ukisas*) is very prevalent. It is not considered a disease, no cause is known for it, and no remedies are used. The natives say that it does not hurt and that they do not take any notice of it, but they pick at the scales a good deal. A healthy person will pick scales from the skin of an infected one, apparently as a way of passing the time. Some people seemed to regard the patterns made by the scaly patches on the skin as an ornament.

Scabies (itch, native name *kuskus*). Nearly every adult carries the lesions characteristic of this disease, some being

5: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930)1935
ON6 Buka ON6

757 almost entirely covered by them. It is disliked and several methods of treating it are practised. The usual method is to
[278] boil certain leaves, among them *kokui* (*Eragrostis tenella*) and *rarakot* (*Desmodium adhaerens*), to which must be added some bark and some scraped coconut meat; the resulting mash must be eaten by the patient, who then rubs his hand, greasy from carrying the mixture to his mouth, over the sores.

752 Ulcers and septic sores (generic word *pi*) are very common.
278 The smallest lesion of the skin is almost certain to become in-
[164] fected. They say that the sap of *wirtsun* (the inedible bush banana), if rubbed in at once, will prevent a cut from becoming a sore, but if the cut is deep this is not done, because it is too painful! The most general form of treatment is to chew the leaves or root of certain plants with the betel-mixture (areca-nut, lime and betel-pepper, as chewed for pleasure) and spit the resulting mash on to the sore. Among the medicines used in this manner are the root of *takuruts*, a species of Croton (*Codiaeum variegatum*), and the root of *tui* (*Calophyllum* sp.). Sometimes heated leaves, sprinkled with lime, are rubbed over the sore, or their sap is squeezed on to it. The bundle of leaves must then be put up in the rafters. As it dries in the smoke of the fire below, the sore will dry up; if it is thrown away before healing is complete, the sore will break out again. Of several plants thus used, only one is identifiable, *sipsip* (*Pteris ensiformis Burm.*). The bark of the Indian almond (*Terminalia catappa*), stated by Dymock (p. 262) to possess astringent qualities, may be pounded in sea water and squeezed on to the sore. The sap from the leaves of *wuruts*, the native tobacco plant, is sometimes squeezed over a sore to keep the flies away from it.

Boils (*tsub*, *patsuk*) are supposed to be caused by the blood stopping in the skin. They are treated by applying hot leaves, by pressure, and by spitting over the affected area a mash made by chewing portions of various plants with the betel-mixture.
● [171] Among the plants thus used are *towano* (*Achryanthes aspera*), which is used in Australia (Maiden, p. 150) and in India (Dymock, p. 538) for treating cutaneous diseases, and *mansisian*, a species of betel-pepper. The leaves of betel-pepper are used in India "as a ready dressing for foul ulcers, which seem to im-

5: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930)1935
ON6 Buka ON6

Dysentery (*tasoa*) is regarded as the result of "poison." It is diagnosed by the presence of blood in the faeces. It appears often in a mild form, from which the patient generally recovers. In the early stages it is treated with *wiakun* in the same way as diarrhoea. In severe cases, a drink is given, consisting of the bruised leaves of *riro* (*Morinda citrifolia*) steeped in water mixed with powdered lime. The leaves of this plant are used medicinally in Fiji (Seemann, p. 129). In India a decoction is made of them for the treatment of diarrhoea, and they are also administered as a tonic and febrifuge (Dymock, p. 335).

The passing of blood with the urine is treated in the following manner: "Rub a quantity of the grass *manini* (a sweet-scented grass, *Cymbopogon* sp.) between your hands, mix it with water, then take out the grass and give the water to the patient to drink. Then chew the roots with the betel-mixture and massage the lower part of the patient's abdomen vigorously with the resulting mash in the palm of your hand. The patient must also chew some of the root with the betel-mixture and swallow it."

Fever

There is a good deal of fever, chiefly malaria. It is usually considered to be caused by getting wet and cold, and only very rarely connected with black magic. Both external and internal treatment is given. Typical prescriptions run as follows:

The leaves of *toankenon* (one of the *Rutaceae*) or of several other plants are rubbed between the hands and placed in half a coconut shell filled with water, to which hot stones have been added. The top half of the coconut is replaced, with an "eye" pierced through which the steam will escape. The patient must hold his face in the steam and sniff at it.

When the fever is only just beginning, some freshly picked leaves of any one of various aromatic plants (unidentified) are rubbed in the hands and held to the nose of the patient, who must sniff at them. For later stages of the fever a package must be made of the leaves, heated in the fire, and then unfastened and held to the patient's nose; the leaves, held in the clenched fist, must then be pressed firmly on the patient's head in different places.

5: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930)1935
ON6 Buka ON6

A swollen leg is rubbed with the chewed root of *towano* (*Achryanthes aspera*). This plant is reported by Maiden (p. 150) to be "administered in India in cases of dropsy." A condition which I take to be dropsy was thus described: "Suppose someone puts a certain bad leaf (the name of which my informant professed not to know) among some bananas and another person eats them, his belly becomes big just like a pregnant woman's and presently he dies." The word for this condition (*wagiug*) also means "pregnant."

Elephantiasis (*pu*) is not infrequent. There is medicine to relieve the pain in the early stages, but my informants did not know it. Afterwards "it is not painful, it only swells up and then we cannot make any medicine for it."

Epilepsy

I heard of one man who was subject to periodical attacks which would seem to be epileptic fits. They were described as follows: "He falls down on the ground, all his skin is tight, then he dies (*i.e.* becomes unconscious), plenty of white water comes up in his mouth. When he comes to life again he spits it out, he stays all right for a long time, then the sickness comes back again." The treatment is to make a mixture of the leaves of *karavetan* (a creeper) with lime and water. The leaves are rubbed over the man's body and he is given the water to drink.

Tuberculosis

The sickness *wapē'o*, which I take to be tuberculosis of the lung, is thus described: "The man is nothing but skin and bone, he cannot eat, he does nothing but spit, by and bye he spits blood, then he is all right for a little while, then he is ill again." It is thought to be caused by someone making "bad medicine" with the aid of aromatic plants or leaves which have been worn by the affected individual as ornaments. My informant had heard there was a treatment for it, but he did not know it.

Prevention of Sickness

Epidemics are thought to be caused by *urar* (spirits of the dead) who are angry with the people. Certain precautionary measures may be taken. The medicine used generally consists

5: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930)1935
ON6 Buka ON6

Since several different plants are used for the same sickness, and the same plant often for conditions widely different in character, the sum of the actual medical knowledge possessed by these natives may be very small and it seems likely that most of their remedies work, if they work at all, solely by the power of suggestion. At the same time it is noteworthy that several of the comparatively small number of plants which could be identified from my pressed specimens are identical with those used for similar purposes in Australia or in India. Many of these have no particularly striking characteristics which would attract attention among the mass of green in the bush. These coincidences cannot well be the result of contact, and would seem too numerous to have come about by chance. Without analysis, for which large quantities are required, it is impossible to settle the question as to how many of these plants actually possess therapeutic value. It would be interesting to ascertain whether any of them are used for similar purposes in tropical Africa, but I have not been able to find any account of an African materia medica giving the necessary botanical identifications.

B. Blackwood.

List of References

Dymock, W. *The Vegetable Materia Medica of Western India.* (Undated.)

Maiden, J. H. *Useful Native Plants of Australia.* 1889.

Nādkarni, K. M. *The Indian Materia Medica.* 1927.

Seemann, B. *Flora Vitiensis.* 1865-73.